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HISTORY
OF
THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN VIRGINIA.

BY
HERRMANN SCHURICHT.

VOL. I.

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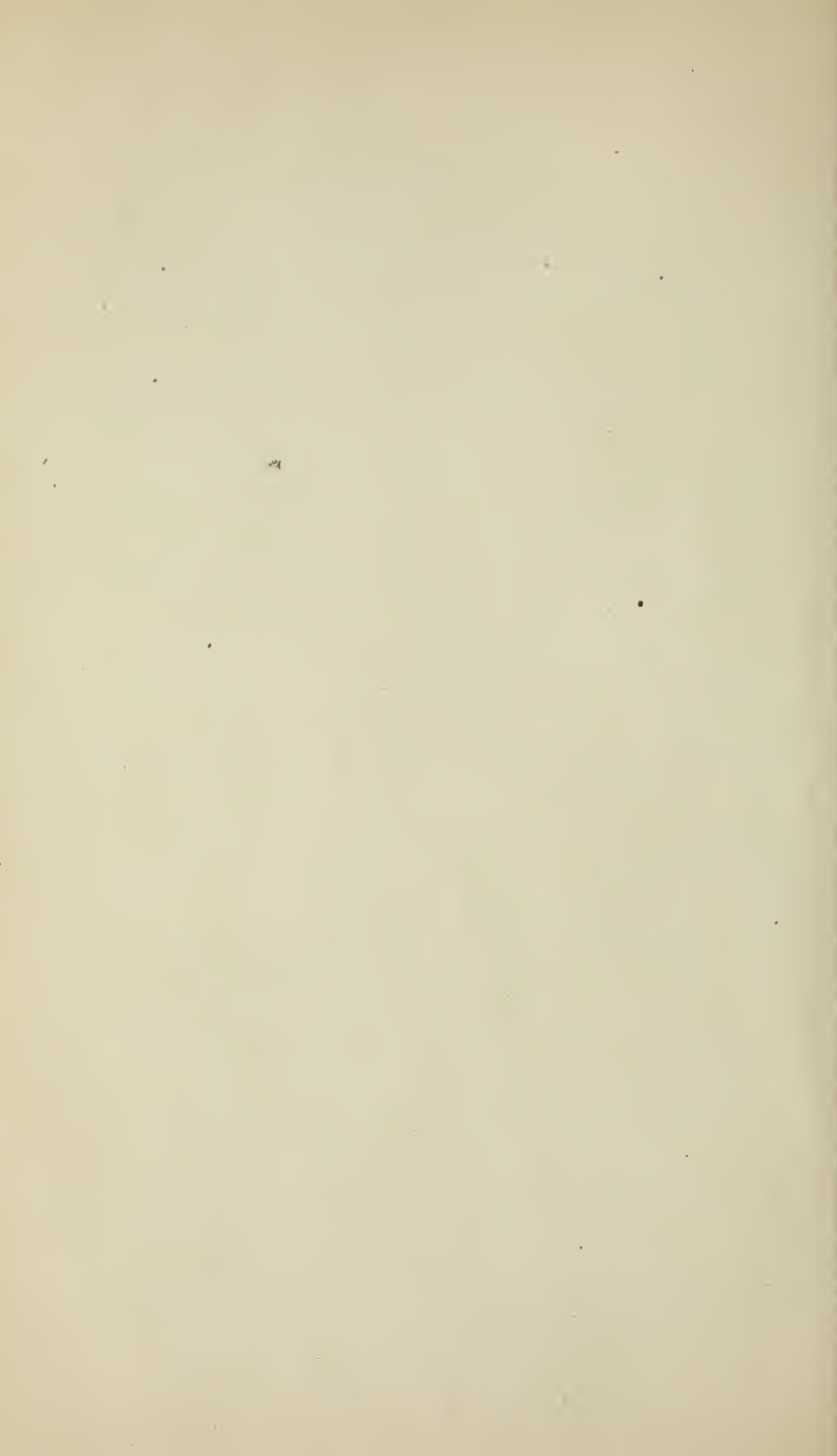
DEDICATION.

THIS work is dedicated to all German-Americans, who, with a loyal attachment to the land of their choice, combine a pious remembrance to the native land of their forefathers: those brave pioneers, who helped to develop the great resources of the New World and to make these United States of North America an abode of liberty and happiness. The history of Virginia — the mother of States — records many names of Germans who have acted their parts well in the work of civilization and deserve honorable recognition.

In particular this book is devoted to
The Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland,
aiming to ascertain the merits of the German settlers, and to guard the same from oblivion.


Respectfully,

THE AUTHOR.



INTRODUCTION.

THE PARTICIPATION OF GERMANS IN THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

HE PROGRESS of civilization has been advanced by no other historical event more powerfully than by the re-discovery of the New World, and no other race has alike promoted European culture in America, than the Germanic. Among the Europeans of Germanic origin, who have participated in the gigantic work of civilization in America, the Germans have quietly and little noticed done their share.

Virginia—with the sole exception of the settlements of the Norse or Northmen in “Vinland,”—was the first scene of Germanic life in North America. The name “Vinland” the New England States derived from the discovery of the native grapevine by the German Dietrich Tyrker, from the Rhine, who as teacher and guardian, sailed in the year 1001 with the sons of Eric the Red from Greenland to the coast of the North American continent. The world is indebted for the knowledge of the Norse discovery to the German Rev. Adam von Bremen, born at Meissen in Saxony, and died in the year 1076. In his “History of the Church,” he reports statements received from Swein, King of Denmark and others; and Icelandic records and traditions confirm his narration and speak of Markland, Helluland and Vinland, which comprised the territory from Labrador to Massachusetts and part of Rhode Island. In the year 983 Red Eric (Erik Rauda) and Herjulf, compelled to fly from Iceland, sailed with a number of colonists to the distant coast of Greenland. Sailing around Cape Farewell, through their efforts the southern extremity of the western coast of Greenland was speedily settled, as is proved by many runic inscriptions. In 986 Herjulf’s son Bjarn or Bjarni discovered by accident the great American continent

in the neighborhood of Boston and the news of his discovery reached Norway, where Eric's son Leif stayed at the court of King Olaf Tryggvason to acquire a scientific education. Hearing of the beautiful land situated in the southwest of the ocean, Leif resolved to sail in quest of it and returned to Greenland in company with his German teacher, Dietrich Tyrker, from the Rhine. He purchased Bjarn's ship, manned it with 35 sailors and reached first a snowy and rocky coast, which he named Helluland (rocky land.) Coasting the mainland for many miles he and his companions sighted a rich woodland which they termed Markland, and finally reached an island and the mouth of a large river which originated from a lake. There they wintered, and Dietrich Tyrker, the guardian of Leif, explored the country and discovered the native Grape-Vine. Accordingly, they called this part of the land Vinland.—Two years later Leif and his brother Thorstein or Thorvald undertook another expedition to Vinland. Leif founded a village, "Leifsbudir," and in the spring of 1003 a part of his followers sailed farther south and discovered a very rich country. Attacked by the native savages or Skraelingers, the expedition returned to Greenland in 1005; but in the year 1006 Torfin built in Vinland a town which he called "Torfinsbudir," and Freydis a daughter of Red Eric, Halg, Finnbog and others importing colonists from Norway, the settlement prospered. In 1121 Bishop Erich inspected the colony—and for three centuries a commercial connection was kept up between Vinland, Greenland and Norway, until decay began. The hostility of the natives and "the black death," carried off most of the settlers, and finally with the unfortunate colonists all knowledge of Vinland died out. (Compare: "Der anregende Einfluss der Deutschen auf die Entdeckung der neuen Welt," von H. A. Rattermann, Seite 9 und 10,—Cincinnati, 1892; and Worthington's: "History of the United States.")—However, after the rediscovery of the Western Continent by Christopher Columbus in 1492, a permanent English settlement was effected as stated, in 1607 on Virginian soil; and although in some instances the old mother colony has been surpassed by later seats of European culture in America, its history presents a most interesting picture of the progress of civilization in the new world and the part the Germans have taken in it.

Germany had reached the climax of its commercial power at the end of the middle ages. The Hanseatic Union reigned in the Northern seas, and the Kings of Scandinavia and Britain submitted to her superiority. But during the last decades of the fifteenth century symptoms of a rapid decline became apparent. England and the Netherlands made strenuous efforts to compete in the commerce of the world: Particularism began to loosen the ties upon which the strength and power of the Hanse rested, and finally grand events as the rediscovery of America by Christopher Columbus, and the maritime route opened to East India by Vasco de Gama, not only furnished Spain and Portugal with immense amounts of gold and silver, but changed the ancient routes of commerce and opened new markets. The Mediterranean Sea lost much of its importance, and Italy, called in Germany: "Das Haus im innern Hofe der Welt,"—ceased to be such. All the western European nations acquired transatlantic possessions, established colonies and enjoyed the benefit of the new Era, but the German Hanse and the Italian republics,—the masters of the seas,—did not participate, endeavoring in vain to force the world's traffic back in its old channels. The Hanseates were driven from the emporium; the wealth of the German nation suffered severely, and religious wars, massacres and persecutions inflicted upon their commerce and industry deep wounds. Mining in Germany proved less profitable after the capture of gold and silver by the Spaniards, followed by the discovery of many rich mines of precious metals in South America and Mexico, and finally the cruel "Thirty years' war, 1618-1648" wholly destroyed the national welfare. Entire villages disappeared, cities were reduced to ruin, pestilence and famine swept away those who had escaped the sword, and culture and morality fled this terror without precedent. It is not surprising, that in the midst of their national calamity the German princes did not possess the means or even the inclination to organize the great mass of fugitives, that tried to regain happiness and peace on the other side of the ocean.

However, the great period of discoveries and the consequent migration of nations, did not commence unprepared or *without German assistance*. These important events were precluded in a fair way by pioneers and guides, and many of

them were of German origin. Even Columbus had his German advisers who assisted him in the rediscovery of the lost or forgotten part of the Globe. Of the numerous German thinkers and explorers, who are known to have helped in the great event, only one principal figure shall be mentioned.

Martin Behaim, born 1459 at Nuremberg, is frequently asserted to be *the first rediscoverer of America*, and he is undoubtedly entitled to great merit with regard to the discovery of the Western Hemisphere. He undertook extended voyages, visited Venice and Antwerp, and was introduced in the year 1480 to King Alphons V, of Portugal. Fifty years before the most distant station in the West, the Azores or Western Islands, Fayal and Pico, had been settled by "German-Flandrian traders," a colony had been organized and rapidly enlarged. About 1490 it amounted to several thousand inhabitants. Martin Behaim visited these islands, became acquainted with the Governor, the noble knight Jobst von Hurter, Seigneur of Mörkirchen, and married his daughter Johanna. He was a great cosmographer, mathematician and inventor of nautical instruments. He improved the old astrolabium to an instrument for measuring altitude, "the quadrant." Behaim also took part in the exploring expeditions of the Portuguese Admiral Diego Cano along the western coast of Africa and was knighted in recognition of his meritorious services. In the year 1492, after various voyages and having penetrated far into the unknown western seas, he returned to his native city in Germany, designed various maps and construed there the first globe of the earth: "Globus oder Erdapfel," which is preserved to this day in the German Museum at Nuremberg, as one of the most interesting relics and as a monument of German ingenuity. On his globe a cluster of islands: "Antilia" is marked, which represent America as it was known to him, and it is asserted that Portugal afterwards founded her claim on Brazil before the Papal tribunal of arbitration upon the statement, that Martin Behaim in the year 1483, when in the service of the Portuguese Crown, discovered the western continent. The chronicle of Nuremberg: "Nuremberger Weltchronik, of the year 1494," also says: "These two men, Behaim and Diego Cano, with the assistance of our Lord, reached the other part of the globe,

having crossed the western ocean and the equinox, where facing the east the shadow fell southward and to their right. Therefore, they opened by their merit a new part of the earth which had been unknown." Giovanni Baptista Riccioli, an Italian historian, reports in his *Geographiae et Hydrographiae Reformata*, "Columbus received valuable information regarding his plans in the house of Martin Behaim." Furthermore, the Spanish historians, Herrera and Muñoz, and the Portuguese Barros state: "That Martin Behaim viewed Pernambuco and discovered Brazil previous to Columbus and Vespucci," and "Columbus would not have ventured on his voyage if Behaim had not given him the directions." To some degree these assertions are confirmed by Alexander von Humboldt, who never made a statement without good proof. He says: "Columbus probably knew Behaim at Lisabon, where both resided from 1480 to 1484." It is known also, that De Perestrello, the father-in-law of the great Genuese, called on the German explorer at Nuremberg in order to get his opinion and advice regarding the probability of discovering a western route to India. The knowledge that Behaim possessed of a western continent, is also affirmed by the historical report, "That Magelbaens used a map drawn by the German geographer, when he sailed around Cape Horn."

These statements of the great deeds of a German explorer do not lessen the enormous merits of Christopher Columbus, for it remains his glory, to have opened the fabulous lands of the Far West to civilization. However ungrateful single men may be, the totality of mankind acknowledge and honor its benefactors, their grand services are preserved and bequeathed from generation to generation. Columbus experienced the ingratitude of his contemporaries, but in the heart of posterity his name is printed in golden letters, *and like him all those are entitled to grateful recognition, who guided him on the path of glory.*

Many more names and circumstances might be related to prove the intellectual part the Germans have taken in the rediscovery of the New World. German literary men like Nicholaus Kopernikus, (Kopernik) born at Frauenburg in Prussia, Georg Purbach or Peurbach, an Austrian, Johannes

Regiomontanus, properly Johannes Mueller or Molitor, born at Koenigsberg in Franconia, and others, were celebrities of the highest rank in astronomy, mathematics and geography. They were predecessors of Behaim and Columbus, and have materially enlightened the knowledge of the world. "They not only are," says Lichtenberg, "the restorers of astronomic knowledge in Germany, but actually the founders of astronomic science in Europe," and the French scholar Gassendi proclaims, that, "without Purbach or Regiomontanus probably no Columbus and Kopernikus would have arisen."

Germans afterwards took the lead in publishing the discoveries of Columbus and Vespucci. In the year 1506 under the nom de plume, "Martinus Hylacomilus," Martin Waldseemüller or Waltzemüller, born at Freiburg in Baden, was *the first* to express in his *Cosmographiae Introductio* etc., the opinion, that Columbus had discovered a new continent; in 1515 Johannes Schoener at Nuremberg, published his map under the title, "De America, quarta orbis parte"; in 1508 Jobst Ruckhammers or Ruchamers, "Neue unbekante landte und eine neue weltte in kurtz vergangener zeythe erfunden," appeared at Nuremberg and this was *the first book* to give extensive reports about the then known discoveries. Jobst Ruchammer in his book published 1507 in Lubeck, also gave to the New World the name of "America," and the first map of the world which mentioned this name appeared in the "Cosmographie" of Petrus Apianus, that is, Peter Bienewitz, born 1495 at Leissnig, in Saxony.

Later on Spain, England, France, Holland and Sweden employed German intelligence, capital and labor to secure colonies in America and make them prosperous. Charles V, King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, borrowed eleven million florins of the German banker Welser, at Augsburg; King Francis I, of France, received from the same firm two million florins, and the Kings of England, Henry VIII and Edward VII in 1546 and 1547 contracted large loans with the Augsburg Banking House. Welser himself bought Venezuela, which his family owned until 1558 and he commissioned Alfinger or Dalfinger, Federmann and Georg von Speyer, to

explore the country along the Magdalen and Orinoco rivers. The governments of the forenamed kingdoms commissioned numerous agents to engage German colonists and artisans for their American provinces.

The Dutch government appointed the German Prince von Nassau-Siegen, governor of Brazil from 1624 to 1648, and Holland as well as Sweden entrusted the Germans, Peter Minnewit, of Wesel on the Rhine, 1626, and Johann Printz von Buchau of Holstein, 1643, with the occupation and administration of their colonies on the Hudson and Delaware rivers. Even among the *first settlers in Virginia* were several Germans and they helped materially to explore and cultivate the land and to establish moral and lawful life.

The political and social conditions of England before and during the middle ages were in a deplorable state, its commerce and industry were dependent on foreign countries, principally the Hanseate Union and Italy. But during the reign of Edward III, in the first half of the 14th century, a greater activity is observable and in the 15th century domestic commercial associations struggled to take the imports and exports into their own hands. The first steps to organize a royal naval force were taken at the time of Henry VII in 1485 to 1509. Only five years after the first voyage of Columbus, the King enabled John Cabot and his son Sebastian to cross the ocean in order to make new discoveries in the interest of England and to find a northern route to India. These two courageous seamen descried the North American continent, the coasts of Labrador or Newfoundland, 14 months earlier than the famous Genuese, and they sailed in 1498 from Labrador to Virginia and to the Albemarle sound in North Carolina. But they failed to find a northern route to Asia and to bring back to England expected treasures of gold and silver. Nearly half a century elapsed before Martin Frobisher succeeded to repeat Cabot's plans. By the influence of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, he obtained two small ships of Queen Elizabeth, sailed through unknown waters until he entered Baffin Bay in 1576. Here he heaped up a pile of stones and took possession of the country for the British Crown. Among other things which he collected he brought back a stone con-

taining traces of gold. This fact soon became generally known and created a wild gold fever in England. The thirst for gold was the cause of two other naval expeditions under the command of Frobisher, but after sustaining innumerable perils incident to arctic regions, the ships returned to England without the coveted result and the spirit of enterprise would have gone asleep, had not Francis Drake of Devonshire, during the war between England and Spain, 1577 to 1579, sailing through the straits of Magellan and coasting along the Pacific shore ransacked the Spanish colonies, Chili and Peru, and captured a Spanish vessel loaded with treasures.

Sir Walter Raleigh, a great favorite with Queen Elizabeth, obtained for his brother-in-law, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the concession to form permanent settlements in the sub-tropical region of North America. Sir Humphrey sailed in the year 1583 to Newfoundland, which he reached on August 5th. He there erected the English arms and assigned certain lands to the fishermen of other nations agreeing to pay an annual ground rent. This was the first commercial treaty of the English in America.

In connection with this expedition the *first information of German participation* is preserved. The historian George Bancroft reports, that an expert miner who accompanied Sir Humphrey, was *an honest and pious Saxon* and very industrious. It was the general opinion, that the appearance of the mountains indicated mineral wealth and the Saxon asserted upon his life, that there was an abundance of silver ore. He gathered specimens and the precious ore was loaded on board of one of the ships, but it was wrecked and the Saxon with his cre and all her crew perished.

Sir Walter Raleigh himself was no more successful than his brother-in-law. He received of Queen Elizabeth a patent for an extended territory, lying between Florida and Canada, which in honor of his maiden Queen he called Virginia. Two ships, commanded by experienced officers, sailed in April 1584 from London conveying one hundred and eighty colonists to the New World. Raleigh's first attempt to plant a colony, was on Roanoke Island in Palmico Sound, but the settlers proved incompetent, they made no effort to till the soil, but wasted their time hunting

for gold. They believed that the Roanoke river had its head waters in the "golden rocks" of the fabulous Eldorado. Not realizing their expectations, they were disheartened and returned to England. Fifteen only consented to stay and await the arrival of fresh colonists, but of these daring adventurers nothing was afterwards heard. Those returning home had learned the use of tobacco and imported into the motherland the custom of "drinking tobacco," as it was called.

In the year 1587 Raleigh again sent out a fleet, but it was equally unsuccessful. Fortunately for the American interests English trading vessels sailed occasionally across the Atlantic, also visiting Virginia and returning with valuable cargo. The favorable results of these commercial expeditions kept alive the desire to colonize the coast of North America.

Finally James I, in 1606 divided his American country into two districts, nearly equal in extent, and granted to a company of wealthy London merchants a patent of the southern part, situated between the 34th and 40th degree northern latitude. This "London Company" had the foundation of a colony for its object and it sent out in 1607 an expedition under the command of Christopher Newport, an experienced navigator. On the 26th day of April, 1607, they reached the Chesapeake Bay and at the mouth of a beautiful river, which they called the James in honor of the King, they laid the foundation of the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown in Virginia. This event is the starting point of the history of the mother colony of the United States of North America and at the same time *of the part the Germans took in establishing American civilization.*

Thus, after a period of one hundred and ten years after the time that Cabot discovered the North American continent, and after many misfortunes and disappointments, the Germanic element had planted the seedcorn from which was to grow the most glorious republic of the world. Whenever, at the present time, the name America is mentioned, we think little of the Latin race or the countrymen of Columbus, but of the Germanic immigration, that is the English and the Dutch, who, with the assistance of Germans, Scandinavians and others, gave to North America its truly Germanic character. In other words, we admire the growing empire of the world, the homestead of

liberty, the United States of North America, as the standard bearer of civilization in the New World. Beside Virginia many other States have been organized in the Union as seats of modern culture, commerce and industry, art and science have developed, millions of men have found on the virgin soil of America new homesteads and enjoy the benefit of liberal institutions, which for the first time give to the old world an idea of true freedom. These are the blessings for which America and in fact all mankind are indebted to the Germanic pioneers in the New World.

PERIOD I.

The Colonial Time to the End of the 18th Century.

CHAPTER I.

THE SETTLEMENT OF TIDEWATER VIRGINIA.

“**I**N the history of German immigration to the English colonies of North America during the last century Virginia takes a prominent share,” says the late Vice-Governor of Illinois, Gustav Koerner,¹⁾ and he might have dated this statement back to the earliest time of colonization.

The early immigration of Germans to Virginia differs essentially, it must be admitted, from that under the leadership of Wm. Penn and Franz Pastorius to Pennsylvania, for unlike these it was not organized or compact. With the forenamed there came at once a large number of Germans to the New World, numerous additions followed and they kept together and founded German settlements which have preserved their national character to this day. But into Virginia the Germans immigrated singly, without a leader of their own nationality and without connection among themselves. Not until the beginning of the eighteenth century a German mass-immigration commenced from North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the Fatherland. The first comers scattered during the first decades of the colony over all its various sections, and yet the influence of this immigration proved of the greatest value to the development of Virginia or “Attanough Komouch,” the Indian name of the country.

1.) „Das deutsche Element in den Ver. Staaten von Nord-Amerika,“ von G. Koerner, Seite 403. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880.

The civilization of all countries began with the tilling of the soil or agriculture, and this was the case too in the old mother colony. It is generally admitted, that no part of the United States possesses greater natural advantages for the production of cereals, vegetables and orchard fruit than the "Old Dominion!" Situated in the most favorable latitude of the temperate zone, with variety of soil and enormous mineral resources, richly watered and with the best harbors on the Atlantic coast, it was well qualified to become the starting point of English colonization. But already in selecting the locality of the first settlement, the English colonists were injudicious by choosing a low and unhealthy section.

Early in 1607 the London Company sent out Captain Christopher Newport, with three small ships, the *Susan Constance*, the *Discoverer* and the *God-speed*, coming with one hundred and five men to establish a colony. Before the departure from England a form of government was prepared and all power was vested in a body of seven councillors, whose names were: Edward Maria Wingfield, president, and Capt. John Smith, Christ. Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, Bartholomew Gosnold and George Kendall. The original intention was to settle on Roanoke Island, but a storm drove the little fleet into the Chesapeake Bay and it sailed up the "Powhatan River" to which the adventurers gave the name of "James." Upon its banks, about fifty miles from its mouth, they established the settlement "Jamestown." Unfortunately most of the settlers were English noblemen and adventurers, not fond of work and even despising it, and therefore, they were but little qualified to do the hard labors of pioneers. "Vagabond gentlemen" as they are called in some American histories for schools,^{2 & 3}) they had no families and came in search of wealth, expecting when rich to return to England and to commence anew a life of dissipation. They imported into America nothing but their prejudice and faults, and even President Wingfield soon showed himself a heartless scoundrel. Not much good could be expected of such elements for the new colony.

2) "American History for Schools," by G. P. Quackenbos, p. 43. New York, 1877.

3) "History of the United States of America," by Ch. A. Goodrich and W. Seavy, p. 31. N. Y. 1867.

Mr. Cooke⁴) who lived in Virginia on the old homestead of his ancestors and who took an earnest interest in the history of his native State, describes the precaution with which the ships of the daring seamen approached the coast and the landing of Newport's expedition as follows:

Before them was the great expanse of Chesapeake Bay, the "Mother of waters" as the Indian name signified, and in the distance the broad mouth of a great river, the Powhatan. As the ships approached the western shore of the bay the storm had spent its force, and they called the place Point Comfort. A little further, at the present Hampton, they landed and were hospitably received by a tribe of Indians. The ships then sailed on up the river, which was new-named James River, and parties landed here and there, looking for a good site for the colony. A very bad one was finally selected, a low peninsula half buried in the tide at highwater. Here the adventurers landed on May 13th, 1607, and gave the place the name of Jamestown, in honor of the King. Nothing remains of this famous settlement but the ruins of a church tower covered with ivy, and some old tombstones. The tower is crumbling year by year, and the roots of trees have cracked the slabs, making great rifts across the names of the old Armigers and Honourables. The place is desolate, with its washing waves and flitting sea-fowl, but possesses a singular attraction. It is one of the few localities which recall the first years of American history, but it will not recall them much longer. Every distinctive feature of the spot is slowly disappearing. The river encroaches year by year, and the ground occupied by the original huts is already submerged."

Mr. Cooke gives in his pretty description a fair picture of the unfitness of the first immigrants, and also unintentionally shows a characteristic difference between the English and the Germans, that exists to this day. His complaint concerning the unmitigated decay of the mementoes of such an important event, as the first settlement in Virginia was, is fully justified and deserves honorable mentioning, but this demonstrates also how

4) "Virginia," A History of the People, by John Esten Cooke, p. 19. Boston, Mass., 1833.

irreverent and little ideal the Anglo-Americans are in such matters in contrast with the Germans, who perhaps less smart and enterprising in the practices of life are of deeper feeling and reverence. Not until 1891 were the first steps taken to preserve the few remaining ruins of old Jamestown to posterity. Congress appropriated ten thousand dollars to prevent the further destruction of the island, and an embankment with ripraps has been built along the northern end, but the work is badly done, and already the bank is beginning to be undermined. Like "red tape" this characteristic difference between the two principal elements of the population is to be observed in the history of the Union and particularly of Virginia.

It is also not to be left unmentioned, that *the oldest printed publication* about Virginia is a German one. A chronological list of works up to Capt. Smith's death, 1631, published in "The English Scholar's Library," Birmingham, 1884, page cxxxii, names in the very first place: "1590-1650 Levinus Hulsius, A Collection of Voyages. In German-Frankfort." Furthermore, on page cxxxiv is stated, "In 1617, Hulsius, the German collector, translated Smith's description for his voyages and reengraved the map (drawn by Captain Smith); but the names in the lower corners were omitted, and Smith's title, the verses concerning him and some of the explanations were given in German. In regard to Capt. Smith's map, printed by Georg Low in London, is said in the same publication, "The original condition of the map bears in the lower left-hand corner, Simon Pasacus, sculpit," which appears to be a latinized German name.

Upon the banks of James river the colonists met with peaceable and hospitable Indians. Powhatan, the chief of the native confederacy, resided at Werowocomoco on the shores of York River. In the beginning friendly relations existed between the colonists and the savages, and Captains Newport and Smith in exploring the country up the James River and eastward to York River, frequently visited the kind-hearted chief in his wigwam. Capt. Smith⁵⁾ reports also, "the savages often visited us kindly."

5.) "The Three Travels." Adventures and Observations of Capt. John Smith. Vol. I, p. 151. London edition, 1629, and republished at Richmond, Va., 1819.

In June 1607 Captain Newport sailed for England, leaving the smallest of his ships behind him and soon the colonists began to experience a variety of calamities. They were, as has already been stated, poorly fitted to struggle with life in the wilderness, neglecting to cultivate the soil and wasting their time in unsuccessful searches for gold. Among them, as stated in Capt. Smith's reports to the London Company, were only four carpenters and twelve laborers,⁶⁾ and most of them were "Dutchmen."

A list of the "first planters" gives the following probably anglicized names of the four carpenters: William Laxon, Edward Pising, Thomas Emry and Robert Small, and in 1609, Adam and Francis, two stout Dutchmen, are mentioned. No distinction was made in those days between the appellations "Dutch" and "Deutsch or German." Germans and Hollanders came to England and America by way of the same Dutch harbors. However, Capt. John Smith, speaking of the natives of Holland in his "Description of New England," always calls them Hollanders *and not Dutch*. From a recommendation to the Council of Virginia⁷⁾: "To send to *Germany* and Poland for laborers," it can safely be concluded, *that those carpenters and laborers were Germans, and that they have built the first dwelling houses in Virginia*. This conjecture appears the more plausible, as the other immigrants were not skilled to this work. Furthermore Capt. Smith had travelled through Poland *and Germany* and knew the Germans as an industrious and reliable people. He also ordered three of his "German" carpenters as he distinctly calls them and as will be further related, to build a house for the Indian Chief Powhatan, and that he made great efforts to persuade them to return, when they preferred to remain with the natives.

In "Hening's Statutes at Large," Vol. I, p. 114-118; dated July 24th, 1621, instructions drawn up by the Council, also refer to the care to be taken of Frenchmen, Dutch, Italians and others, and clearly indicate the presence of emigrants from various nations.

6.) "The English Scholar's Library," pp. 94 and 130. Birmingham, 1884; and "Historical Collections of Virginia," by Henry Howe, p. 24. Charleston, S. C., 1849.

7.) "The English Scholar's Library," pp. 194, 195, 196, 197, 444 &c. Birmingham, 1884; and "The Three Travels," by Capt. John Smith. Vol. I, p. 202. Richmond, Va., 1819.

The documents giving the names of the first comers are incomplete, but contain a number of German family names. In the letter to the Council, before mentioned, Capt. John Smith speaks with distinction of one *Capitaine Richard Waldo* and a *Maister Andrew Buckler*. The lists of the arrivals from 1607 to 1609, expressly confirm the presence of Dutch and Poles⁸⁾ and contain the following names of German sound: *John Herd, Henry Leigh, Thomas Lavander, William, George and Thom. Cassen, Wm. Unger, Wm. May, Vere, Michael, Peter Keffer*, a gunner, *Wm. Dowman, Thomas Feld*, apothecary, *Rose, Milman, Michael Lowicke, Hillard, Nath. Graues*, (probably *Krause*), etc. In a list of the names of the adventurers of Virginia, contained in a printed book edited by the treasurer and Council in 1620,⁹⁾ we meet also with names of German sound as, *David Borne, Wm. Beck, Benjamin Brand, Charles Beck, George Bache, J. Ferne, J. Fenner, L. Campe, Abraham Colmer, John Francklin, Peter Franck, J. Geering, G. Holeman, J. Heiden, G. Herst, N. Hide, J. Harper, Christ. Landman, John Landman, H. Leigh, H. May, J. Miller, J. Martin, J. Mundz, Rich. Morer, Rich. Paulson, N. Salter, A. Speckhard, Henry Spranger, Dr. Wm. Turner, Rich. Turner, J. Treuer, J. Tauerner, R. and H. Venne, J. Weld, John Waller* and many doubtful names.

Provisions were scarce and of poor quality, sickness spread among the settlers, and before the beginning of winter 1607 one half had perished. Worse than all these misfortunes, the neighboring Indians, alarmed by the intrusion and unkind treatment of the whites, became jealous and hostile and refused to furnish supplies of corn, etc.

Fortunately in this desperate position Capt. Smith proved to be the right kind of man to meet the emergency and so deserves the predicate given to him, "the father of Virginia." He succeeded to quiet the savages, to persuade them to provide his starving followers with provisions and thereby saved the rest of the colonists from certain starvation.

However, upon his return to Jamestown, he discovered that President Wingfield was about to leave the colony with some of

8) "The English Scholar's Library," pp. 108, 129 and 446. Birmingham, 1884; and "The Three Travels." Adventures and Observations of Capt. John Smith. Vol. I, pp. 153, 172, 173, 181, 203 and 205, from London edition of 1629, republished at Richmond, Va., 1819.

9) The Generall Historie of Virginia" etc., by Capt. John Smith. Vol. II, pp. 43 - 56. Richmond, Va., 1819.

his partisans and the most valuable stores on Capt. Newport's ship bound for the West Indies. He forced the treacherous President to stay, and Wingfield being disposed of, Capt. Smith was appointed to his office and restored order. He trained his English companions to swinging the axe in the woods and to till the soil, declaring that, "he who would not work, should not eat."

Soon new troubles arose with the Indians and Capt. Smith planned with *Capitaine Waldo*, (this name indicates that the Captain was a German or German descendant,) "upon whom he knew he could rely in time of need,"¹⁰⁾ to subdue them. Not being very conscientious in regard to the means for accomplishing his design, he resolved to lurk the unsuspecting Powhatan into his power. In one of his reports he mentions, that he proposed to the Indian chief to erect for him a dwelling house after the European pattern and that he ordered three of his *German carpenters* and two Englishmen, "having so small allowance and few were able to do anything to purpose,"¹¹⁾ to do the job. He instructed these artisans to act also as spies and assist him to accomplish his object to get the Indian chief in his power. But the Germans learned to esteem the Indians and particularly the well meaning Powhatan, and finally they gave warning to the chief and resolved to stay and live with the sons of the wilderness. It seems that these men had endured many privations amidst the English, for Capt. Smith says, "it would have done well, but to send them and without victualls to work, was not so well advised nor considered of, as it should have been."¹²⁾ When Capt. Smith heard of this so-called treachery of the German workmen, he angrily remarked as "Fama" reports, "damned Dutch," and accordingly he ought to be looked upon as the author of the illbred predicate which is to this day in use by ill meaning people. Wherever different nationalities are mixed together, there will be some rivalry, and American life illustrates this fact from Capt. Smith's time to the present. It seems too, from the captain's statements, that the

10.) "The Three Travels." Adventures and Observations of Capt. John Smith. Vol I, p. 204, from the London edition, 1620, and republished at Richmond, Va., 1819; and "The English Scholar's Library," pp. 130 and 447. Birmingham, 1884.

11.) Do. Vol. I, p. 205.

12.) Do. Vol. I, p. 103; and "The English Scholar's Library," p. 122. Birmingham, 1884.

"Dutchmen" had "English" confederates¹³⁾ and it is well known, that dissatisfaction and discord split the colonists in adverse parties.

The intrigue of Capt. Smith reawakened the suspicion of the natives, and the bad feeling was increased to bitter hatred by the following occurrence. The Indians¹⁴⁾ had raised an abundant harvest, but to secure a portion of it was no easy task for the colonists. Smith, however, determined to undertake it and in company with five companions he descended the James as far as Hampton Roads, where he landed, and went boldly among the savages, offering to exchange hatchets and coin for corn, but they only laughed at the proposal and mocked the strangers by offering a piece of bread for Smith's sword and musket. Smith, always determined to succeed in every undertaking, abandoned the idea of barter and resolved to fight. He ordered his men to fire upon the unarmed natives, who ran howling into the woods, leaving their wigwams, filled with corn, an easy prey of the English, but not a grain was touched until the Indians returned. In a short time sixty or seventy painted warriors, at the head of whom marched a priest bearing an idol, appeared and made an attack. The English gave fire a second time, made a rush, drove the savages back and captured their idol. The Indians, when they saw their deity in possession of the English, sent the priest to humbly beg for its return. Smith stood with his musket across the prostrate image and dictated the only terms upon which he would surrender it; that six unarmed Indians should come forward and fill his boat with corn. The terms were accepted, the idol given up, and Smith returned to Jamestown with a boat load of supplies, but leaving behind him enraged enemies.

Capt. Smith soon afterwards made several trips of exploration, thinking it possible to discover a passage to the Pacific. On one of these expeditions, while sailing up the Chickahominy river, he was attacked by a party of Indians and taken prisoner. His captors carried him before their chief Powhatan and after a long consultation he was condemned to die. The executioners rushed forward and dragged their victim to a large stone on which it

13) "The Three Travels." *Adventures and Observations of Capt. John Smith.* Vol. I, p. 218, from the London edition, 1629, republished at Richmond, Va., 1819.

14) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, p. 29 Philadelphia, 1889.

had been decided his head should be crushed. His head already rested on the stone, still shown at the old Mayo farm near Richmond, and the two warriors had raised the club to strike the fatal blow, when Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of the chief, threw herself upon the captive and implored her father to spare the life of the prisoner. Powhatan yielded to the maiden's prayer. Smith was released and in a few days concluded a bargain with the old chief, by which he was to receive a large tract of country in exchange for two cannon and a grindstone, which were to be sent from Jamestown. Accompanied by a guard of twelve men he arrived there after an absence of seven weeks, and under the pretext of instructing the Indian guardsmen in the use of the cannons, discharged them into the trees, at which the savages were so frightened, that they would have nothing to do with them. The grindstone proved so heavy, that they could not carry it, and finally they returned with only a number of trinkets.

Pocahontas, a girl of thirteen years of age, loved the captain dearly. She afterwards embraced the Christian faith and was baptized Rebecca. After the return of Smith to England in 1609, a young English settler, John Rolfe, assured her that Smith died and persuaded her to marry him. Three years later the couple visited England and she was received with great ceremony at the royal court. There she met with Captain Smith and it is said, that she died heart broken finding herself the victim of deceit. She left one son, who was educated in England and who then returned to Virginia, where several of the most prominent families claim to be his descendants.

The poetical Pocahontas tale has been related here in full, to prove the correctness of the assertion made previously in regard to the lack of devotion to the memoirs of history on part of Anglo-Americans. No prominent American poet has taken hold of this admirable story, but the German-American teacher, Johann Straubenmueller, published in German in 1858 at Baltimore, Md., a poem entitled: "Pocahontas or the foundation of Virginia." It is an astonishing fact, that more German-American, and even German poets, as for instance, Friedrich von Schiller¹⁵⁾ and Nicolaus Lenau,¹⁶⁾ have selected American

15) „Nadowessier's Todtenlied," by Friedrich von Schiller.

16.) „Der Indianerzug," „Die drei Indianer," etc., by Nicolaus Lenau.

myths and Indian life for their poetry and saved those precious pearls from falling into oblivion, than native American poets. The original painting of Pocahontas, a picture which has long been sought for and which is now ascertained to be in Norfolk, is probably too the work of a German artist, Nicolaus Locker.¹⁷⁾

After friendly relations were again reestablished between Smith and Powhatan, the captain tried to induce the German carpenters sent to the Indian chief to return to Jamestown. He granted them full pardon and detailed a Swiss, by name William Volday, to persuade them, but his messenger also preferred to stay with the Indians and only one German, named *Adam*, availed himself of the captain's offer.¹⁸⁾ Capt. Smith then charged the Dutchmen, — or the cursed countrymen of the Swiss Volda or Volday, as he called them, — to have conspired with the Spaniards to destroy the colony. In an interesting historical publication, "Die unbekannte neue Welt oder Beschreibung des Welttheils Amerika, by Dr. O. D., Amsterdam, 1673," of which a copy is in possession of Rev. Eduard Huber, Baltimore, Md., the unwise and oppressive treatment the Germans suffered by the English and their consequent enmity, is confirmed. On page 161 of this Dutch book is stated, "They (the Englishmen) had also many troubles with the High-Germans (Hochdeutschen,) which having been badly treated, joined the Virginians (the Indians) to destroy the English settlement." Thus it appears, that the grievances experienced, induced the German colonists to actions of a hostile character and that in those early days of the colony a want of harmony created a deplorable national calamity, which has continued in some degree to this day.

Being unable to induce the German mechanics to return to Jamestown, Capt. Smith persuaded Thomas Douse and Thomas Mallard "to bring the Dutchmen and the inconstant savages in such a manner amongst such ambuscades, as he had prepared, that not many of them should return from the peninsula."¹⁹⁾ But Douse failed to accomplish his design.

17) "The English Scholar's Library," page 136. Birmingham, 1884.

18) "The Three Travels." Adventures and Observations by Capt. John Smith. Vol I, pp. 231, 232. Richmond, Va., 1819.

19) "The English Scholar's Library," page 477. Birmingham, 1884.

In the spring and again in the fall of 1608 Capt. Newport arrived with provisions and new immigrants. Among the newcomers were a number of Poles and Germans, brought over with the purpose to manufacture pitch, tar, glass, sope-ashes, etc., but most of the new settlers were of the same sort as their predecessors, who in spite of the remonstrances of Smith, wasted their time in search of gold. Capt. Smith complained of the habits and character of the men sent out and entreated the council, "when they send out again, rather to send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers of tree roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as they had." The bad state of affairs continued and after two years of existence, there were but forty acres of cultivated land in the colony.

In the year 1609 the London Company obtained a new charter, granting enlarged territory and putting the management of affairs of the colony in the hands of a governor assisted by a council. Lord Delaware was appointed governor, after Capt. Smith, by the accidental explosion of a bag of gunpowder, had been wounded and obliged to return to England. Besides Jamestown, that was strongly palisaded, containing some fifty or sixty houses, he left five or six other forts and plantations. It was an unlucky day for the colony when Capt. Smith departed, — his actions had not always been free of harshness and cruelty, — but the circumstances that surrounded him may serve for his excuse, — and when he had left, disorder, sickness and famine ensued. The winter of 1609 to 1610 was properly termed "the starving time." Of the 490 persons whom Smith left, only sixty survived, and it may safely be accepted, that most of the survivors belonged to the industrious, sober working class from the European continent, while the English fortune seekers, carrying on a dissipated life, perished. Capt. Smith stated,²⁰⁾ "the adventurers never knew what a day's work was, except the Dutchmen and Poles, and some dozen others. For all the rest were poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving men, libertines and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth, than either begin one, or but help to maintain one."

²⁰⁾ "The Three Travels." *Adventures and Observations.* Vol. I, p. 241. Richmond, 1819.

The Indians, no longer afraid, began to harass the unfortunates, who concluded to desert the settlement and to sail to Newfoundland. Nearing the mouth of the James river, they descried a fleet entering Hampton roads. It was Lord Delaware with new colonists and provisions, and the disheartened fugitives were persuaded to return to the abandoned Jamestown. The new arrivals were of a better class and by the judicious management of the governor the future of the colony wore a brighter aspect.

Among the new settlers were many Dutch and Germans, they plowed the soil, corn was raised in abundance and no further famine again endangered the lives of the colonists. Tobacco and cotton were extensively cultivated for export, and tobacco was used as money, being worth about 75 cents a pound. Capt. Waldo, before mentioned and highly esteemed by Capt. Smith, went to England and persuaded the merchants to commence mining in Virginia. But the mines he had found did not prove rich and he was treated as an impostor and died most miserably.²¹⁾ The remains of an iron furnace²²⁾ are found in Chesterfield County, five or six miles below Richmond, described by Berkeley in his History of Virginia as being worked in 1620. Very likely these iron works were established by Capt. Waldo. In the Price-Lists of 1621 iron is marked at twelve pounds sterling per ton, but in 1622 the Chesterfield furnace was broken up by the massacre of the Indians under the chief Opechancanough.

Ill health soon obliged governor Delaware to give up the administration of the colony and he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale. The last act of governor Dale marks an era in the history of Virginia. Ever since the foundation of the colony all property was held in common, the settlers worked together and the products of the harvest were deposited in a common storehouse and distributed by the council. Governor Dale now introduced the policy of assigning to each settler a few acres of land to be his own, and the advantages of this system soon became apparent in the general improvement.

21) "The Three Travels." Adventures and Observations. Vol. I, p 241. Richmond, 1819.

22.) "The Hand-Book of Virginia," p. 64 Fifth Edition Richmond, Va, 1886.

In the year 1611 the colony counted 200 inhabitants and the settlements extended on both sides of the James. In several of the reports to the London Company the presence of Germans is confirmed and they show, that the administration appreciated diligent labor and endeavored to encourage immigration from France, Germany, Switzerland, and Holland. The intolerance of the clergy and of the worldly rulers in Europe furthered the realization of this plan.

Before 1619 the colonists had no part in the making of the laws by which they were governed, but in that year, under the administration of Sir George Yeardley, a representative government was established, and in order to further ensure the permanency of the colony through the establishment of family life, one hundred and fifty agreeable young women, poor but respectable, were brought over. They were sold to the planters in marriage bound at the cost of their transportation expenses, at the price of one hundred pounds of tobacco, and the demand exceeding the supply, other transports were furnished and the price advanced to 150 pounds. This almost comic transaction proved of the highest merit, as domestic and moral life was its result and even the restless adventurers relinquished the fondled hope of returning to the mother land.

It is very probable that many of the German settlers married English women and thereby became anglicized.

Acquisitions of a different and decidedly unfavorable character were also made to the population of the colony. One hundred criminals were, by the order of King James, sent over to be sold for a term of years as servants to the planters, and this beginning created a desire on part of some of the colonists to employ labor and the opportunity to gratify it came only too soon.

In 1620 a Dutch ship from Africa touched at Jamestown and landed twenty negroes, who were sold for lifetime as slaves, and thus the abominable institution of slavery was introduced, spreading gradually over the entire territory of the English colonies — and it became the curse of the inhabitants. In the beginning slavery was only silently tolerated, but in the course of time slave holding, slave breeding and slave trade were protected by law. However, the great majority of the colonists

were opposed to the institution and especially to the importation of negroes, and only through the influence of the large land-owners, mostly English lords, was slavery forced on Virginia. Twenty-three statutes were passed by the House of Burgesses *to prevent the importation of slaves*, but all were vetoed by the English government. The general education was purposely neglected and even from the pulpit slavery was declared to be a divine institution.²³⁾ The Church was urged to keep the mass of the people in a state of ignorance, for fear, that with the progress of intellect the right of humanity might be recognized. Sir William Berkeley, who was appointed governor in 1641, said in the year 1671 in a report to the English government, "I thank God there are no free-schools or printing, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"—And in fact, not until 1736 was the first newspaper published in Virginia.²⁴⁾ In 1730 a prohibitory law was issued, forbidding the German printer *John Buckner*, who had set up *the first printing press* in the mother colony, to publish in print the laws of the government." A school law was not passed by the Assembly until 1796, and it was never carried out. In 1818 and 1846 additional laws were passed, but unfortunately,²⁵⁾ as in the case of the law of 1796, it was left optional with the counties to adopt or reject it, and the result was a failure to secure any State system. The census of 1860 showed only 85, 443 pupils in 3778 schools, so-called, though many were but private classes in which some public fund pupils were instructed. Not until the year 1870 was the present excellent public school law inaugurated in Virginia and at once the enrolment showed for that year 157,841 pupils in all schools, — an immense advance on any previous year.

Slave holding also had most injurious effects on the development of industry and commerce. As long as the mass of a people is without an own income, — as long as all the pro-

23) "Geschichte der deutschen Schulbestrebungen in Amerika," by Herrmann Schuricht, p. 4. Leipzig, 1884.

24) Compare, "History of Printing," by Thomas.

25.) Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1876, p. 401. Washington, government printing office, 1878.

ducts of the soil are the property of a few, — there is no market except for farm produce and no exchange for surplus. This is shown by statistics. Of imports, the share of the South as compared with the free states before the war of secession, was like 40 to 321, and this proves, that a very small portion of the southern commerce was in southern hands. There certainly would have been tenfold more commerce and manufacture in Virginia and the other southern states, if there had been intelligent, industrious and patriotic free laborers, receiving pay for their work and spending their money for the necessities and luxuries of life. But for slavery, Virginia would to-day be, as it was in 1790, the most populous state of the Union, as well as the most wealthy and influential. Slavery still had another disastrous effect, — it has the tendency to degrade free labor and to render the free laborer worthless. The habit of giving preference to slave-labor has operated to the prejudice of free labor. It has caused the population of little means to grow up in idleness, to think labor degrading, to be incapable of earnest regular work, and it kept away immigration of white workingmen, because they disliked to be looked down upon and treated as negroes.

The German settlers, whose number was much larger than is generally conceded, were with very few exceptions opposed to slavery, — resulting to their great disadvantage. The slaveholders consequently distrusted the Germans and a new feeling of animosity towards them sprang up. Their political influence was curtailed, and the majority of them submitted in order to secure toleration and peace. In this way a valuable civil element was almost excluded from building up the future state, — but only in political respects and not in its social and economical life. In farming and in commerce the Germans became important factors, as will be shown hereafter. But outside of slavery there was another obstacle in the path of quick development of the colony, that impeded foreign and particularly German immigration.

“The feudal system,” says Mr. Ben. Perley Poor,²⁶⁾ “was transplanted to Virginia from England and the royal grants of

26.) “History of Agriculture of the United States,” by Ben. Perley Poor, U. S. Agricultural Report of 1866, p. 505.

land gave the proprietors, — mostly favorites of the King, — baronial power. One of these grants or “patents,” as they were called, gave the patentee the right to divide the said tract or territory of land into counties, hundreds, parishes, tithings, townships, hamlets and boroughs, and to erect and build cities, towns, etc., and to endow the same at their free will and pleasure, and did appoint them full and perpetual patrons of all churches, with power also to divide a part or parcel of said tract or territory, or portion of land, into manors and to call the same after their own or any of their names, or by other name or names whatsoever; and within the same to hold court in the nature of a court baron, and to hold pleas of all actions, trespasses, covenants, accounts, contracts, detinues, debts, and demands whatsoever when the debt or thing demanded exceed not the value of forty shilling, sterling money of England, and to receive and take all ameracements, fruits, commodities, advantages, perquisites and emoluments whatsoever, to such respective court barons belonging or in any wise appertaining and further, to hold within the same manors a court leet and view of frank pledge of all the tenants, residents and inhabitants of the hundred within such respective manors, etc.”

The power being thus vested in the hands of a few lords, desirable immigrants did not come in large numbers as had been expected. Convicts and a great many indentured white servants, Irish and Scotch prisoners of war, were sent over from England in and after the year 1621, — but after a generation or two all these elements became blended into a homogeneous mass of “cavaliers,” — aristocratic because they had an inferior race beneath them.

Still, in spite of all the mismanagement and unlucky circumstances, the colony extended its lines and soon after immigration began to penetrate into the interior.

Until the death of Powhatan in 1618 the settlers lived fairly in peace with the natives, but after his brother Opechancanough (speak Ope-kan-kano) became the head of the confederate tribes, the relations changed. Eyeing with suspicion the increasing numbers of the palefaces, he laid a murderous plan in 1622 for their total extermination.

Mr. Virgil A. Lewis²⁷⁾ describes the cruel massacre, which also caused the death of many a German settler, as follows: "In order to avoid suspicion, he, Opechancanough, renewed the treaty of peace with governor Wyatt, and only two days before the blow was to be struck he declared that the sky should fall before he would violate the terms of the treaty. The friendly relations were continued up to the very day, even to the fatal hour. They borrowed boats from the English, brought in venison and other provisions for sale and sat down to breakfast with their unsuspecting victims. The hour arrived. It was twelve o'clock noon on the 22nd day of March, 1622, when every hamlet in Virginia was attacked by a band of yelling savages, who spared neither age, sex nor condition. The bloody work went on until 347 men, women and children had fallen victims at the barbarous hands of that perfidious and inhuman people." The "Colonial Records of Virginia," published by order of the Senate, Richmond, Va., 1874, contain a list of all those that were massacred by the savages, and this document gives the following names of Germans, besides a very large number of doubtful names, but of probably German origin: *Robert Horner, Samuel Stringer, Georg Soldan, Th. Freeman, Edw. Heyden, Edw. Lister, John Benner, Thomas Sheffield and Robert Walden.*

Had not a converted Indian, who lived with a man named Pace, revealed the plot and so put the people of Jamestown and neighboring settlements on their guard, and therefore in a state of defence, every settlement would have been laid in ruins and the inhabitants put to the tomahawk. So the plan failed. There were yet 1600 fighting men in the colony and the Indians were made to pay dear for their perfidy. The English pushed into the wilderness, burning wigwams, killing every Indian that fell into their hands, and destroying the crops, until the foe was driven far into the interior. Confidence was once more restored, and a feeling of security brought a return of prosperity; immigration revived and at the end of the year the population numbered 2500."

Especially one class of the English immigrants caused the dissatisfaction and provocation of the natives, namely the pio-

27.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, pp. 46, 47. Phila., Pa., 1889.

neers, who strongly contrasted with the cavalier planters and the regular settlers.²⁸⁾ Generally speaking, they were the younger sons, unlucky gamesters, turbulent spirits, rejected lovers and disbanded soldiers, who turned their backs on civilization to live an untrammelled life in some fertile mountain gap or rich river bottom. Game was plentiful and they were hunters and trappers rather than farmers, sending their peltries to market and only cultivating enough land to supply their immediate wants. This unrestrained life became a passion and frequently led to conflicts with the Indians, who claimed the forests as their hunting ground, — and the peaceful and active farmers on the frontier, mostly Germans, suffered much on this account.

The London Company had not gained any profit by the colonization of Virginia so far. She had sent over more than 9000 persons at an expense of about 100,000 pounds sterling, — many of the immigrants perished, others had joined the Indians or left the country, — and after eighteen years of existence the colony counted only 2500 inhabitants, and the annual export scarcely amounted to 20,000 pounds.

King James too was little pleased with these meagre results, and when the Indian troubles commenced and the very existence of the colony was endangered, he dissolved the company and in 1624 Virginia was declared a royal province. The Colonial Assembly was however allowed to exercise its former power, and by and by the importance of Virginia was felt. A thousand immigrants arrived in the single year 1627 and took to farming wherever fertile land invited them.

The "Colonial Records of Virginia" contain lists of the living and dead in Virginia on Feb. 16th, 1623, that give the following German names: *William Welder, Margaret Berman, Henry Coltman, Mrs. Coltman, Petters, Richard Spurling (Sperling), John Landman, Daniel Vergo, Wm. Boocke, Walter Priest, Henry Turner, Edw. Bricke, Elizabeth Salter, Ch. Waller, Georg Graues, Th. Spilman, Th. Rees, John Rose, Wm. Stocker, Wm. Kemp, George Fryer, Peter Staber, John Filmer, John Rachell and Margaret Pollentin, Adam Rumell, Nicholas Wesell, John Salter, Cornelius and Elizabeth May and child, Wm. Cappe, Peter*

28.) "History of the Agriculture of the United States," by Ben. Perley Poor, Agricultural Report of the U. S., p. 506, Washington, 1867.

Longman, Robert Winter, Richard Spriese, Sam. Foreman, Daniel Francke, Rich. Ranke, Vullentyne Gentler, Th. Horner, Cathrin Cappe and a very large number of doubtful names.

Tobacco had become the staple product of Virginia and efforts were made to also encourage other branches of rural industry. Cotton was first planted in 1621 and its cultivation was now promoted. King James I, prompted doubtless by his antipathy to "the Virginia weed," as he termed the tobacco plant, and having understood that the soil naturally yielded store of excellent mulberries, gave directions to urge the cultivation of silk and to erect silk-mills. Men of experience were brought over from France, Switzerland and Germany, and premiums were offered to encourage the raising of the silk-worm, and later also that of indigo, hops and other agricultural staples; but fresh disturbances interfered.

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The war with the Indians just ended, the political and religious troubles in England, the immorality of the royal court, the corruption of the office holders, the animosity of the tories and wighs, the contest between the church and its opponents, and finally the establishment of a republican government by Cromwell, exercised their convulsive influences even upon distant Virginia.

After the restoration of Charles II to the throne of his beheaded father, he failed to fulfill the expectations of his people, who were in hope that the king, who had gone through a school of misfortune, would give his country peace and prosperity. But Charles II soon lost the confidence and respect of his subjects. He was incapable of resolute action and self-sacrifice, without trust in humanity or virtue. "He was a drunkard, a libertine, and a hypocrite, who had neither shame nor sensibility and who in point of honor was unworthy to enter the presence of the meanest of his subjects."²⁹)

To have the throne occupied for a quarter of century by such a man as this one, was the surest way of weakening that ignorant and indiscriminate loyalty to which various people have often sacrificed their dearest rights, and to shake the faith in the

29) "History of Civilization in England," by Henry Thomas Buckle. Vol. I, p. 280. New York, 1870.

continuance of public welfare. Charles II deceived the Protestants by favoring the Catholics, and he rushed England into unlucky wars. He wounded the national pride of his people by the sale of Duenkirchen to Louis XIV of France, and by the defeat in the war with Holland. England, which had advanced during the republican administration to the first naval power of Europe, had to endure the mortification, that a Dutch fleet under de Ruyter sailed up the Thames and alarmed the city of London by the thunder of its cannon. In the treaty of Dorn Charles II agreed to adopt the Catholic faith and to support the claim of the King of France on the Spanish throne with his fleet and army, while on the other hand Louis XIV obliged himself to pay subsidies and to land an army in England in case of revolution. Henry Thomas Buckle says,³⁰) "Politically and morally there were to be found in the government all the elements of confusion, of weakness and of crime. The king himself was a mean and spiritless voluptuary, without the morals of a Christian and almost without the feeling of man. His ministers had not one of the attributes of statesmen and nearly all of them were pensioned by the crown of France."

The English possessed a great deal of national self-esteem and all the disgrace that the king brought over Great Britain wounded them deeply. The same effect was visible in the English colonies and finally resulted in outbursts of indignation. This was particularly the case in Virginia, where a great number of disgusted English and Scotch refugees had settled, while the immigrants from the European continent possessed no special attachment to the English throne and advocated American independence. The rights of the mass of the colonists were everywhere restricted. Sir William Berkeley, who had held the office of governor by the will of the people, and who had administered the colonial affairs in a liberal manner, was confirmed by Charles II in 1660, but thereupon commenced a rule of despotism and oppression, — the affairs of the Church were placed in the hands of vestries, — and the Assembly composed of aristocrats made themselves permanent. Prospects grew dark!

³⁰) "History of Civilization in England," by Henry Thomas Buckle: Vol. I, p 275. New York, 1870.

During the time of the Commonwealth in the year 1651, Parliament had extended its authority to America, and in an act required all the exports from the colonies to England to be carried in English or colonial vessels. Virginia expected after the Restoration, in acknowledgment of her loyalty, some special marks of the king's favor, but by compulsory laws, as the above mentioned, she was required to look to England as her sole market for her exports and to receive from England alone her imports. In 1672 duties were even imposed upon articles carried from one colony to another, and these aggressions drove the colonists finally to insurrection.

But the great natural wealth of the land assisted, in spite of restrictions and obstructions, the progress of Virginia. Among the various strange and surprising things which the settlers found on Virginian soil, were a great variety of wild grape vines, and the London Company determined, as early as 1630, to make some experiments with the culture of the European canes through French and German experts. The favorite drinks of the English were, at that time: portwine, sherry and madeira, and it is easy to understand, that they desired to produce wines of this character in Virginia. Premiums were offered to encourage the cultivation of vines, but the delicate European sorts did not resist the injuries of climate and insects, and the results were unsatisfactory.

At about the same time a German-Bohemian named *Augustine Herrmann*, from Prague in Bohemia, came to Virginia.³¹⁾ His name is mentioned also with distinction in the annals of other North-American colonies, as, New Amsterdam, now New York,—New Jersey and Maryland, and in fact the Dutch colonies are principally entitled to claim him as theirs, but his services in regard to Virginia are of such great merit, that his name ought for all time to be given a place of honor in her history.

There is very little known about the early life of Herrmann, — even the year of his birth is only judged to be 1605. It seems that he came to Virginia in 1629, for in a petition addressed to the Dutch governor Stuyvesant, dated 1654, he says: "Without

31) "Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin," H. A. Rattermann. Numbers 2 and 4. Cincinnati, O., 1886.

specially praising myself, *I am the founder of the Virginia tobacco trade*, and it is well known that in a short time great advantages for the public welfare have been called forth thereby." This assertion of Herrmann has never been controverted, and as a memorial of the deputies of the Dutch West India Company, dated November 16th, 1629, speaks of "a large quantity of tobacco, which now has become an important article of trade,³²⁾ it may safely be accepted that the above statement in respect to the time of his arrival in Virginia is correct.

Later Herrmann removed to New Amsterdam and began business of his own and as agent for Peter Gabry & Co., Amsterdam. He was also a wholesale dealer in wine, bought and sold furs, Virginia cotton and tobacco, which he exported to Holland. It is proved by documents that he received the last named articles, by the intervention of *Georg Hack* in Northampton, Va., whose wife was a sister of Mrs. Herrmann, né Jeanetie Verlet, from Utrecht, and who frequently visited her relatives in New Amsterdam. In exchange for Virginia products Herrmann supplied his brother-in-law with all kinds of imported goods.

Georg Hack apparently was a man of energy and influence, who took an active part in politics. He was one of the subscribers to the so-called "engagement of Northampton,"³³⁾ dated March 25th, 1651, by which the county declared itself in favor of Parliament, respectively of Cromwell and the republic. This action of Hack deserves special mention, as most Virginians were at that crisis loyal royalists and bitterly opposed the "Navigation Act" enforced by the British Parliament. This law, as has been stated, prohibited export and import except to and from England and was necessarily a severe blow to the foreign trade established by Hack's brother-in-law. Georg Hack appears therefore as a man of character, who would rather sacrifice the interests of his relative and his own, than depart from his principles.

Herrmann on the other hand defended the interests of the Dutch with energy and soon gained respect and influence. Several times during the period of the Commonwealth, he was

32) L. van Aitzema, "Historie van Saken van Staet en Oorlogh, in ende omtrent de Vereen Nederland, etc." 4^o edition Vol. II, p. 912. An English translation is to be found in: "Documents relating to the colonial history of New York." Vol. I, pp. 40-42.

33.) "Virginia Historical Register." Vol. I, p. 163.

sent as ambassador by governor Stuyvesant to Virginia and Maryland, and his reports are still preserved in the state archive of New York at Albany.³⁴⁾

Besides his creditable doings as merchant and statesman, he gained fame in another way. He advocated, as early as 1659, in a letter to governor Stuyvesant: an accurate geographical survey of the English and Dutch colonies,³⁵⁾ and he was possessed of the talent and knowledge to undertake the difficult work himself. He was well posted in literature, spoke the most important languages: German, English, Dutch, French, Spanish and Latin, and he was an efficient draughtsman, mathematician and surveyor. Edwin R. Purple calls him³⁶⁾ "a man of good education, a surveyor by profession, talented in sketching and a draughtsman, — a smart and enterprising business man, — a rare and noble man, — and an admirer of this country."

Probably the map of the New Netherland, printed by Nicolaus Jan Visscher and contained in von der Donk's book, "*Beschreyvings van Nieuw Nederland*," published at Amsterdam in 1655, was drawn by Herrmann, as it is certain, that the view of New Amsterdam, which is also contained in the book, originates from him. Beyond all doubt he has drawn in 1670 the "map of the English and Dutch colonies," which was published by the government in 1673 and embraces the section between the line of North Carolina and the Hudson river. Although incorrect in several respects, it gives a very comprehensive picture of the land, mouths of rivers and inlets of the sea. Virginia is particularly well drawn, and Herrmann must have explored the tidewater-region very carefully. The map shows the likeness of its designer with the inscription, "Augustine Herrmann, Bohemian," and a vignette with the inscription, "Virginia and Maryland as it was planted and inhabited this present year 1670. Surveyed and exactly drawn by our own labor and endeavor of Augustine Herrmann, Bohemiensis," and at the side of which are represented a young Indian with bow and arrow, and an Indian girl.

It is of great interest that Herrmann's map also gives some German names of places in Virginia, as: Scharburg and Backer's

34) "Dutch Manuscript." Vol. XVIII, p. 96.

35.) "Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin." Copy 4, pp. 535 to 536.

36.) "The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record." Vol. IX, pp. 57 to 58.

Creek. This is almost proof, that in the very infancy of the colony German settlements existed. Augustine Herrmann died in 1686.

It appears also that Germans occupied high political offices, before and during the governorship of Sir Wm. Berkeley. One *Richard Kempe* was secretary of the land office of Henrico in 1624, member of the council of Virginia in 1642, president of this body in 1644, and during the time Sir Berkeley visited England, *acting governor*. The name Kempe is undoubtedly German, but some historians write him "Kemp," and claim erroneously that this form of the name is English. Yet Kemp, as well as Kempe, are to this day German family names and the land-registers of Henrico of 1624³⁷⁾ contain many signatures in Rich. Kempe's own handwriting—and with but one exception he signed "Kempe." Furthermore all biographies of the English colonial governors³⁸⁾ give the name of their native land, county and birthplace, with the sole exception of R. Kempe's biography, and this omission also speaks for his German origin. Surely there is no full evidence that R. Kempe was a German, but the probabilities are in favor of it.

During the same period some Germans rendered very valuable services by exploring the unknown country in the interior.

Johannes Lederer was the first explorer of the Alleghany mountains, and he is one of the brightest figures in the early history of the German element in Virginia. The German-American historian H. A. Rattermann, of Cincinnati, O., deserves credit for the preservation of the great deeds of Lederer,³⁹⁾ and an extract from his researches may find room at this place.

In the year 1668 Johannes Lederer came to Jamestown and offered his services to governor Berkeley. "A son of the Alps," as he said, "he had come to explore America." He was a scientific man and familiar with several languages, especially the classical, and he expressed the desire to explore the mountain region. Governor Berkeley readily equipped an expedition to

37.) "Land Patents No I," preserved in the land office, Capitol Building, Richmond, Va.

38.) "Virginia and the Virginians," by Dr. Brook, Secretary of the Historical Society of Virginia.

39.) "Der erste Erforscher des Alleghany Gebirges: Johannes Lederer," by H. A. Rattermann, "Deutscher Pionier." Jahrgang 8. Cincinnati, O., 1876.

accompany him. Lederer undertook three trips, but failed to discover an easy passage through the mountains, which the governor wished for. During his last expedition his companions became disheartened and deserted him, while he ventured to continue his researches with only an Indian guide, who served him as interpreter. At his return he was ill-treated, — his companions, ashamed of their cowardice, circulated false reports about him, — and finding even his life endangered, he fled to Maryland. Sir William Talbot, governor of the colony, received him kindly, and upon his suggestion he wrote an account of his trips in Latin, which was printed in English in London in 1672 with a map of the country drawn by the author. This interesting little book was entitled: "The Discoveries of John Lederer, in Their Several Marches From Virginia to the West of Carolina and Other Parts of the Continent, begun in March, 1669, and Ended in September, 1670, Etc., with Map, London, 1672." and contains 27 pages, 4°. A copy of it is preserved in the library of the U. S. Congress at Washington City. It is the first scientific report about the geology, botany, animals and native tribes of the extensive district as far as Florida, seen by the courageous German, and it deserves special acknowledgment in a German-American history, giving evidence, that the first exploration of the Alleghanies was the work of a German.

Very little is known of Lederer himself and no reports are left of his later career and end. The family name of Lederer is well known in Austria and Germany. At Wittenberg in Prussia, Grossenhain in Saxony, Marburg in Hessa, Vienna and Innsbruck in Austria, etc., several members of this illustrious family occupied high positions. Some Lederers held diplomatic offices in the United States of America. One, Baron Alois Lederer, was Consul General of Austria and Toscana at New York, and his son Carl was ambassador at Washington City in 1868.

Lederer's map, which appeared with his book, gives only an inaccurate picture of the country, but it must be taken in consideration that his instruments had been carried off by his faithless companions. It shows the land from Virginia to Florida.

In those early times maps only gave general outlines, and all parts not explored had to be guesswork. This may be illustrated by the following.

"A Map of Virginia discovered to ye Hills," 1651, gives to the American continent from the southern cape of Delaware to "the sea of China and the East Indies," a width of less than 300 miles. — On Hennepin's map of 1683, Lake Erie extends to the southern line of Virginia, making the entire state of Ohio part of the lake. — A map of Wm. Delisle, published by Joh. Justin Gebauer and affixed to Bruzen la Martinier's "Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Amerique, etc.," Paris, 1735, presents nothing of the Ohio river and places the source of the Wabash near the Erie in Pennsylvania. — More accurate is a map: "Nouvelle France," by Charlevoix, 1743. — The "Carte de la Virginie et du Maryland, dressée sur la grande carte anglaise de Messrs. Josue Fry⁴⁰) and Pierre Jefferson par Robert de Vaugondy, Géographe ordinaire du Roi," 1755, gives a fair picture of the lands along the coast of the Atlantic, but the section on the other side of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies is very inaccurately drawn, — and the same may be said in respect to the old map designed by Augustine Herrmann.

Another German explorer of Virginia is mentioned by Klau-precht, the chronicler of the Ohio valley,—by John Esten Cook,—and by Stierlein in his history of Kentucky and the city of Louisville: the German *Capt. Heinrich Batte*, who in 1667 crossed the Alleghanies and reached the Ohio river.

All these historical facts show that the colonial governments have used German scientific men to open the wilderness to civilization, and the history of North Carolina, the neighboring state of the Old Dominion, furnishes further evidence.

In 1663 a German Swiss, *Peter Fabian*, from Bern, accompanied an expedition sent out by the English North Carolina Company. The report of this exploring expedition appeared in London in 1665 and bears the signatures of its leaders: Anthony Long, Wm. Milton and Peter Fabian. The last named was certainly the author of the report and the scientific man of the expedition, as is shown by the estimates of distances in *German*

40) Mr. Josue Fry has drawn several maps of North America, and his name — Fry, or Frei, or Frey, — indicates that he was a German or of German descent.

S. Kercheval, the historian of the Shenandoah Valley, says (*History of the Valley of Va*, Winchester, 1833, p. 81): "There were a mixture of Irish and Germans on Cedar Creek and its vicinity: the *Frys*, Newells, Blackburns, Wilsons, etc., were among the number."

and not in English mileage. The report, for instance, states: "On Friday, the 16th, we heaved anchor by north-west wind and sailed up River Cape-Fair 4 or 5 *German* miles, where we came to anchor at 5 to 7 fathoms."

Before the end of the seventeenth century the administration of the Swiss Canton Bern planned to establish colonies in North America with the surplus of her population. *Franz Ludwig Michel*⁴¹⁾, — English historians misname him Mitchell, — was sent to Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina, and John Lawson, the first historian of North Carolina, relates in his book: "A new voyage to Carolina, etc.," printed at London, 1709, and published in German by M. Vischer, Hamburg, in 1712, — that he met on his voyage to the Carolinas the German explorer, who was well acquainted with the land and its people.⁴²⁾ Michel again came to North Carolina in 1709, accompanied by *Baron Christopher von Grafenried*, of Bern, at the head of 1500 emigrants from Switzerland and the Palatinate, (die Pfalz in Germany), — all of whom were Germans. Many of these people afterwards settled in Virginia, as will be related further on.

Towards the close of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, under the leadership of Claude Philippe de Richebourg, another numerous immigration of French Huguenots and German Calvinists or Reformists from Elsass and Lorraine took place. These newcomers were industrious and pious people and they scattered successively over the tide-water district, middle Virginia and the Shenandoah valley, but most of them settled in the counties of Norfolk, Surry, Powhatan and Prince William. In the Shenandoah valley they met with a numerous German element and these French Huguenots were perfectly Germanized.

In 1671, by issue of the first law of naturalization, immigration was materially supported. This law prescribed that any

41) "Die Deutschen in Nord-Carolina." Historische Skizze von General J. A. Wagner, Charleston, S. C., publicirt in: "Der deutsche Pionier," Jahrgang III, Seite 328 etc. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1871.

42) "Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Nord- und Süd-Carolina," von H. A. Rattermann, publicirt in: "Der deutsche Pionier," Jahrgang X, Seite 189. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1878.

foreigner could be naturalized upon application to the Assembly and by taking the oath of allegiance to the King of England, and that thereafter he should be entitled to hold public office, carry on business, own real estate, etc. The first Germans who applied for naturalization papers were *Joseph Mulder*, *Heinrich Weedich*, *Thomas Hastmenson*, *John Peterson* and *Hermann Keldermann* in 1673.

The number of German settlers during the first century of the existence of the colony was, as has been stated, much larger than is commonly admitted, and some Anglo-American historians unfairly ignore or belittle the share the Germans have taken in the development of Virginia, desiring to represent it as an "entirely English colony." But the old mother colony was from the very beginning *in its character cosmopolitan*, only founded by English enterprise. The following investigations will prove how incorrect and devoid statements of such "manufacturers of history" are.

The Land Patents (Registers) at the land office of Virginia, Capitol building, Richmond, Va., name as early as 1624 to 1635, or during the third decade of the colony, besides many doubtful names, the following German ones: Johann Busch, Thomas Spilman (Spielmann), John Choohman (Schumann), Ph. Clauss, Zacharias Crippe, Christopher Windmill (Windmueller), Henry Coleman (Kohlmann or Kuhlmann), John Loube (Laube), John and Mary Brower (Brauer), Georg Koth, Thomas Holeman (Hollmann or Hoelemann), Robert Ackerman, etc.

The oldest volume of the county-records, kept at Henrico Courthouse at Richmond, Va., referring to inheritances, criminal investigations, etc., mentions as prosecutors, defendants and witnesses among many names that may just as well be English as German, the following Germans:

1677—William Hand, Th. Gregory, John Bowman (Bau-
mann.)

1678—Margarete Horner.

1679—John Gunter (Guenther), Katherine Knibbe, Georg Kranz and Thos. Risboc, — the last two in German letters.

1680—Thom. Brockhouse (Brockhaus), Georg Archer, John Harras and W. T. Eller, — the last three in partial German writing.

1681—J. Tanner, Edm. Bollcher, Rob. Bolling, Th. Grouse (Krause), and in German writing: John Feil.

1682-86—Doll, Rich. Starke, Mary Skirme, Henry Shurmann (that is: Schuermann, — in later entries the same man signs: Sherman), — Thos. Ruck, Joshua Stap (probably Stapf), and in German letters: Will. Blachman.

Taking in consideration the small number of white settlers, these German names in the registers and records of a single county, which was at the time still predominantly inhabited by Indians, are proof that the German immigration was numerally worthy of notice.

The limits of the counties of Norfolk and Princess Ann originally from 1637 to 1691 formed "Lower Norfolk County." Edward W. James mentions in his "Antiquary" among the earliest landowners the following names of German sound: Samuel Boush, John Weblin, Thos. Wishart, Capt. James Kempe, Wm. Wishart, Thos. and Wm. Brock, Robert Waller, Jeremiah and Matthew Forman, L. Miller, Abrah. Mesler, Robert Fry (schoolmaster of Norfolk Borough), Wm. Plume (member of the Common Council, Norfolk Borough), John Boush (Mayor of Norfolk Borough 1791), Daniel Bedinger (member of a Court of Aldermen), and others.

The population was, as has been mentioned, heavily oppressed during the government of Sir Berkeley, and dissatisfaction was spreading. The English high-church by its intolerance greatly furthered the rebellious spirit. The peaceable Quakers were especially made to suffer. However, the immediate cause of the outbreak of the revolution was the renewed depredations of the Indians in revenge for the treacherous murder of some of their chiefs.


Alarmed and disgusted by the inefficient measures for defence taken by governor Berkeley, the indignant settlers rose in opposition in 1676. They asked permission to arm and defend themselves and to appoint Nathaniel Bacon, a patriotic young lawyer, their leader. This the governor, fearing to put arms in the hands of the discontented men, and jealous of

Bacon's popularity, refused; while the savages continued to commit many outrages on the planters. Bacon now put himself at the head of his followers, defeated the Indians and then turned round against the governor, who had declared him a traitor. He drove Sir Berkeley and his adherents from Jamestown and the town was partly destroyed. Bacon died suddenly, and there was not a second man brave and worthy enough to take his place. Berkeley recovered his power and wreaked vengeance on the patriots by confiscations and executions until the thoughtless and profligate King Charles II declared: "The old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country, than I for the murder of my father!" — However, Bacon's rebellion, as this revolution is called, foreshadowed the great war of Independence and the end of English tyranny. It is a remarkable coincidence, that Drummond, one of the supporters of Bacon, was beheaded on the same spot where a hundred years later Lord Cornwallis surrendered to the superior tactics and strategy of George Washington and his German general von Steuben, assisted by the French allied army.

In 1677 governor Berkeley was discharged from office and for the space of 31 years the king granted the colony to Lords Culpepper and Arlington. The first named was appointed governor for life. He came over in 1680, but trying only to get as much money as possible out of his province, another rebellion was threatening, when the king, for fear of its results, revoked the grant and recalled Culpepper. His successor, Lord Howard, was little better, he also deemed Virginia his "milk cow," and it is really surprising that in spite of all the ill-treatment and mismanagement the colony prospered. In the year 1671 there were 40,000 white inhabitants in Virginia, and at the end of the seventeenth century the population nearly reached 100,000.

CHAPTER II.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COLONIES OF MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA AND THE GERMAN SECTS.

OWARDS the close of the seventeenth century events took place in the country north and east of Virginia, that had decided influence on the growth of German life in the old mother-state.

In England Roman-Catholics were exposed to persecution and most barbarous punishments were inflicted upon them. With the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican High Church a political organism was created, that lacked true religious sentiment, real Christian love and ideal theory of life. The hatred towards the dissenters, Catholics and Protestant sects, led Lord Baltimore, one of the most influential Catholics in old England, to look for some place of refuge in the New World, where those of his creed might follow their worship unmolested. He first tried Newfoundland, but found the climate too severe, and then he tried Virginia, but found its English people more intolerant than in England. Finally he obtained, in 1632, from King Charles I a large tract of land, east of the Potomac and extending along the coast of the Chesapeake bay, to which he gave the name of Maryland, in honor of the queen Henrietta Maria. Although Lord Baltimore was an ardent Catholic, he made his land an asylum for all those pursued and unfortunate. The historian Bankroft says: that from France there came Huguenots, from Germany, Holland, Sweden, Finland and probably too from Piedmont, the children of misfortune. — Emigrants accordingly soon flocked to the province from Europe and the English colonies. But before long difficulties arose. Virginia claimed that Lord Baltimore's grant belonged to her, and Clayborne, a member of the Jamestown Council, who had already established two trading posts in Maryland, opposed the authority of Lord Baltimore. A bloody contest followed, and religious trouble and

war between the Protestants and Catholics, caused by the intolerant and ambitious Puritans and Episcopalians, soon clouded the fair dawn of the rising colony. In England the reign of the Stuarts had been superseded by the new rulers William and Maria, and Lord Baltimore, hesitating to recognize the new government, was in 1691 entirely deprived of his privileges and Maryland became a royal province. Not until 1715 did the fourth Lord Baltimore recover the government — and religious freedom was again restored. During this long period of disturbance the number of the discontented enlarged considerably and many, especially a great number of German colonists, left Maryland and wandered to the fertile valleys in the mountain region of Virginia.

Pennsylvania was also colonized towards the close of the seventeenth century, but religious quarrels and English presumption fostered like results. To enjoy freedom of religion many Germans had emigrated to Pennsylvania. They had endured the dangers and hardships of a long sea-voyage, and they were not disposed to allow themselves to be again deprived of the liberty gained by such sacrifice.

“Religious motives,” writes Professor O. Seidensticker,⁴³⁾ “caused the prosecuted Puritans and Quakers to go in search of an asylum to the New World. For these reasons the Germans left the Fatherland. Only three creeds, the Catholic, Lutheran and Calvin, were granted the right of tolerance within the German empire by the treaty of Westphalia. Whoever was moved by scruples of conscience to give to his Christian belief some different shape or to interpret the Bible in another way, persecution was his lot. Such secular Christians, prosecuted and abused without mercy, were plentiful in Germany towards the close of the seventeenth century. The inoffensive *Mennonites* found only in a few states a precarious admittance,—the pious *Schwenkfelder* had to endure the most terrible treatment, and even the *Pietists*, the followers of Jacob Spencer, who only endeavoured a more earnest and conscientious devotion to religion within the bounds of the Lutheran creed, were abused and denounced as dangerous inno-

43.) “Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in Amerika und die Gründung von Germantown im Jahre 1683,” by Oswald Seidensticker, p. 28. Philadelphia, Pa., 1883.

vators. The *Mystics* of various nuances, who had adherents among the literary men as well as among the people, the authorities would have liked best to shut up in lunatic asylums or prisons."

Besides the sects named in the above citation, German *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, *Dunkards* or *Tunkers* and *Moravians* or *Herrnhuter*, participated in the colonization of Pennsylvania; — in Maryland, in Cecil County, at the Bohemian river, more than one hundred *Labidists* settled, and later on the mountain region of Virginia was mainly opened to civilization by German *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Mennonites*, *Dunkards*, *Quakers* and *Moravians*.^{44 and 45)}

Wm. Penn, the son of an English admiral, whom the English government owed a large sum of money, received instead of payment a large grant of forest land west of the Delaware. Charles II recommended to name this territory "Sylvania," that is, forest land, but finally he prefixed to it the name of Penn and baptized it "Pennsylvania." Wm. Penn had embraced the doctrines of the Quakers or Friends, who were bitterly prosecuted in England, and he resolved to make his American domain an abode for his Quaker brethren and a free colony for all mankind. Very correctly he is considered the talented and noblest leader of his sect, — his highest ambition was to advance the happiness of his fellow men. Even if, as has been asserted, he had aimed to convert his extended landed property into money, it must be acknowledged that he carried out his plan in a disinterested way, advancing an ideal design.

In Germany some Quaker communities existed at Crefeld and Kriesheim near Worms, and akin to them were the Mennonites and Anabaptists. Friendship and equality of all men were the leading doctrine of the Quakers, who originated in England in 1647 through the teachings of John Fox. They believe, that he who implores the Holy Ghost by fervent prayer, will share in divine revelation. Their worship is simple, without the ringing of bells they assemble in a plain

44) "Die ersten deutschen Secten in Amerika," von L. P. Hennighausen Belletristisches Journal, No. 1972, Seite 10. und 11. New York, 1890.

45) "F. D. Pastorius' Pennsylvanien," von Friedrich Kapp, Crefeld, 1884.

meeting-house without altar and pulpit, without the sound of an organ or vocal music. In solemn silence and with covered heads they await for a member of the congregation to be moved by the Holy Ghost and to preach to them. They refuse to take oath and consider war wrong even when waged in self-defence, they condemn all worldly amusements and luxuries, use the article thou and thee no matter whom they address, keep their hats on even in presence of the king, and dress very plain.

Louis P. Hennighausen, of Baltimore, Md., writes about the German Quakers: "William Penn visited and preached to them in 1672 and 1677. They had been oppressed and persecuted in their old Fatherland. Imprisonment, scourging, heavy fines and confiscations was their lot. In some states of northern Germany the magistrates paid a reward of five florins for the information of the whereabouts of a Quaker. The Friends at Crefeld, in June 1683, bought of Wm. Penn 18,000 acres and those of Frankfurt 25,000 acres. In 1683, on the 6th of October, the first thirteen families from Crefeld were landed at Philadelphia. Two days later they selected the land for their settlement, on the 24th it was surveyed, on the 25th the homesteads were divided and the building up of Germantown was begun at once. Many more Germans, especially from Kriesheim, followed and in a few years Germantown had become a flourishing city. In an English book, printed at Philadelphia in 1692, George Frames sings:

The Germantown of which I spoke before,
Which is at least in length one mile or more,
Where live high German people and low Dutch,
Whose trade in weaving linnen cloth is much,
There grows the flax. —

The German Quakers had been converted to the new creed by English missionaries and in their new adopted home they found good friends. William Penn, the proprietor of the province, frequently visited them, — preached to them in the German language and always remained their true friend. In 1686 they erected the first meeting-house in Germantown and Franz Daniel Pastorius was their leader and preacher. Pastorius, who also was the first mayor and delegate of the town,

was a man of lofty character and classical education. He had in Germany been invested with the title of 'Doctor of Jurisprudence,' and he spoke English, French, Spanish and Latin. These Germans were not uneducated people, as they have falsely been represented to be. Among them were Heinrich Herrmann Rueter, who preached in German and English, — Philipp Theodor Lehmann, secretary of Wm. Penn, — van Bebber, Hendriks, Cassel, Brothers of den Graff and other men of education and wealth. The most glorious and famous action of these German men was: *their solemn protest against slavery*, published in English on April 18th, 1688."

A great many colonists also came from England to Pennsylvania. They belonged to different sects, who had lived in hatred and discord in their native land, and they imported unpleasant feelings of jealousy, intolerance and pretention into the abode of peace founded by the noble Penn. They were only on one point of one mind, and that was their envy and antipathy towards the prosperous Germans, who were rapidly increasing in number. The English settlers called them "*foreigners*," and a very deplorable spirit of native presumption grew up. This spitefulness of the two nationalities was heightened when the Germans issued their protest against the institution of slavery.

The Mennonites and Anabaptists originally were closely connected. Both disputed the legality and efficacy of the christening of children, which they condemned as being in contradiction of the Holy scripture. The Anabaptists were rather troublesome people and religious fanatics, they desired the restoration of the empire of Christ on earth, community of property, belief in sacred revelation, etc., and they soon came in conflict with the civil authority and law. Consequently they were bitterly persecuted. But they deserve high credit for having unfolded the banner of constant progress or perpetual reformation — and to have enforced, like the Quakers, rigid morality and recognized equality of mankind. Nicolas Storch was the founder of this sect, born at Zwickau in Saxony, he was in 1521 assisted by Marcus Stubner and Thomas Muenzer.—The followers of Menno Simmons in the Netherlands called themselves Mennonites. Simmons was a Catholic

priest at Witmarsum, when in 1535 several Anabaptists and among them his own brother, were executed. This event made a deep impression on his mind, he left the Roman Catholic Church and joined the Anabaptists, taking charge of one of their congregations at Groeningen. Simmons reorganized the Dutch Anabaptists, disapproving all religious and political agitation. He was opposed to christening children, but declared the baptism of adults to be indispensable — and he desired to restore the original character of the Christian Church. Taking oath, warfare, public offices, law-suits and divorces were rejected by him. Although his followers were very peaceable people, they were confounded with the fanatic Anabaptists, who engaged in a bloody conspiracy at Muenster, and persecution followed. In 1662 twenty-five fugitive Mennonites were already landed at the mouth of the Delaware, but nothing is known of their fate. However, many more followed, and from 1709 to 1730 the Mennonite immigration was very great. They mostly settled in Lancaster county, Pa., and from there they spread, about the middle of the 18th century, to Virginia and finally over the great West.

Another kind of Anabaptists are the Dunkards (Tunker or Dunker). Alexander Mark was the founder of this sect. The Dunkards were not tolerated in their native state: "the Palatinate," but they prospered in America. The nickname of Tunker was given them because they perform the act of baptism by immersion, but they call themselves Brethren and in America "the German Baptist Brethren." Immersion with them is a symbolic purification and revival. They resign all worldly amusements, and only admire a truly Christian character and life, they are highly esteemed for their morality and reliability. A promise given they hold sacred. The first twenty families of this sect arrived from Crefeld in Pennsylvania anno 1719. Their number soon increased and communities of Dunkards were organized⁴⁶⁾ 1723 at Germantown, 1724 at Coventry, Chester Co., 1732 at Oley, Berks Co., 1733 at Great Swamp, Buck Co., 1735 at Cocalico, Lancaster Co., 1736 at Weisseichenland, Lancaster Co., 1738 at Klein-Conewago, York Co., 1741 at Conewago, York Co., 1748 at Tulpe-

46) "Ephrata," by Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, page 27. Cincinnati, O., 1883.

hocken, Berk Co., 1756 at Gross Swatara, Lancaster Co., 1757 at Swatara, Berk Co. But soon they divided into various groups like the Ephrata-sect or Beisselians in 1724. Commonly they are classed as "Old Conservatives," who consider ignorance as less dangerous to the welfare of the soul than the possession of a treasure of worldly knowledge, — and the "Progressive," who are in favor of public education.⁴⁷⁾

The gentle Moravians immigrated into Pennsylvania and Georgia in the fourth decade of the 18th century and proved to be a valuable acquisition. They soon came to Virginia from Tennessee and Ohio. In 1741 Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the founder of this sect, arrived in America, where he intended to propagate his creed. The theological principle⁴⁸⁾ of the Moravians has its nucleus in the expiatory death of Christ. From this they derive an ascetic theory of life — but also a grave religious seriousness and reverence. Dogmatical cunning and distinctions of creed they treat with indifference, the serenity of mind they value most. This devotion is to them no tiresome toil, but a pleasure; the death wounds of Christ do not frighten but enchant them. If the Moravian faith is of confined view in several respects, it has nevertheless infused the deadening dogmatics of Protestantism with new life; proclaiming: that those will not be excluded from salvation who have no knowledge of the gospel. Count Zinzendorf first endeavored to unite the various sects in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania into one community, but unsuccessfully, and then he directed his attention to the conversion of the Indians. The Moravians devoted special care to education. Their schools at Bethlehem, Litiz and Nazareth were counted among the very best in Pennsylvania. Some of their regulations⁴⁹⁾ are very peculiar and were the cause that they were regarded as peculiar people. The strict separation of the sexes during juvenile years, the match-making by the old folks with disregard of mutual affection of the betrothed, the use of lottery tickets as decisions of God, the tasteless costumes of the women, were among these strange regulations.

47.) "Geschichte der deutschen Schulbestrebungen in Amerika," by Herrmann Schuricht, page 5. Leipzig, 1884.

48.) "Die Geschichte der Pädagogik," by Dr. Karl Schmidt, Vol. II, page 386. Coethen, 1861.

49.) "In der neuen Heimath," by Anton Eickhoff, page 139. New York, 1884.

These few remarks about the most important German sects, will suffice to characterize the early German immigration to Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The nature of the Lutheran and Calvin church are supposed to be familiar to the reader, but the great part they have played in the civilization of the colonies, will receive in this history full mention in its place.

The religious motives of the early German immigration to Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies are very well defined by the following public statement of Christian Saur, printer and publisher at Germantown, published in 1754.

“Pennsylvania is a land, the equal of which you cannot hear nor read of in all the world; many thousand people have come here and are still coming here for the sole reason to enjoy its kind government and freedom of conscience. This noble liberty is like a decoy bird or bait which draws men first to Pennsylvania, and if good lands get scarce, they move into the adjoining English colonies, and these English colonies are settled by many immigrants from Germany to the advantage of the Crown on account of Pennsylvania.”

CHAPTER III.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF VIRGINIA.



HE State of Virginia, after the excision of West Virginia, is divided, with reference to the surface and natural character of the land and extending from East to West, into the following grand divisions:

Tidewater Virginia	- - - - -	11,350 sq. miles.
Middle Virginia	- - - - -	12,470 "
Piedmont District	- - - - -	6,680 "
The Valley	- - - - -	7,550 "
The Section of the Blue Ridge	- -	1,230 "
The Appalachian District	- - - -	<u>5,720</u> "

Total, 45,000 sq. miles.

The *Tidewater Division* extends from the Atlantic ocean to the lower falls of the Appomattox, James and Rappahannock rivers, and is divided by the large tidal rivers and the waters of Chesapeake bay into nine principal and a large number of secondary peninsulas. An imaginary line drawn diagonally across the State and touching the cities of Petersburg, Richmond, Fredericksburg and Alexandria, will represent this section. In this belt the winter is mild, snow seldom covers the ground for any length of time, and in summer a large portion of it is refreshed by the sea breeze. Near the line of North Carolina is the swamp and fever-district of Virginia and the fear of "Malaria" keeps away settlers from this unhealthy section. The navigable water-ways give the inhabitants special advantages and make the "low country," as it was called, a very desirable part of the State. Hampton roads and Norfolk bay present the finest and deepest harbors on the Atlantic coast. Here the early settlers established themselves, and here are found those elegant mansions and baronial estates for which Virginia was once celebrated. The coast district absorbed most of the

English immigration and the people of some counties, especially those adjoining Maryland, show to this day, the strongly marked individuality of the English, retaining in a marked degree the manners and expressions of the mother country a century or more ago.⁵⁰⁾ Not very flatteringly says a correspondent of the Handbook of Virginia: "There is nothing lacking here but people, new people, new ideas. We are as intelligent and industrious as most people, but we need new life to pull us out of the grooves and ruts and turn us into different and more progressive channels." The tidewater country being favored with a semi-tropical climate has a great variety of agricultural and garden products, it is the land of peanuts, sweet potatoes, melons, delicious fruit and all sorts of vegetables. The reputation of Virginia tobacco was built upon the product of this region, in colonial times it was the staple product, but now it is only raised to a limited extent in some of the tidewater counties. The tobacco grown at "Varina" on the James river had a special high reputation, and the name of the place is said to have been given to it because of the quality of the tobacco grown there, resembling that of Varinas in Cuba. "The waters of the Chesapeake are of themselves⁵¹⁾ a bountiful source of supply and a mine of wealth to the people immediately on its shores. There is no other sheet of water in the country that supplies such an abundance of excellent fish and oysters. Travellers from Europe, especially the Germans, who visit Virginia, generally remark upon two things in particular, one is the habitual waste of bread, and the other that they see so few beggars or paupers."

Middle Virginia, is a wide undulating plain, crossed by many rivers, bordered by alluvial bottom-lands. It extends to the range of hills parallel to the Blue Ridge and about 20 miles distant from it. This is the great tobacco region of Virginia, and the cereals and fruits of the temperate climate are cultivated here. The extensive and negligent cultivation of tobacco and corn has exhausted much good land, but careful management soon restores to it its original productiveness. This district also suffered greatly during the late war, for it was the main battle

50.) "Handbook of Virginia," 5th edition, by the Commissioner of Agriculture, page 26. Richmond, Va., 1886.

51.) "Physical Survey of Virginia," by Wm. F. Maury, pp. 6—8. Richmond, Va., 1878.

ground. However, this healthy and most improvable region gradually regains its former condition. The forest growth changes as we ascend from the tidewater division to Piedmont, the cypress disappears and the cedar, pine and holly, the gum, oak, chestnut, hickory, tulip tree, walnut, locust, maple, sycamore and other timber become more and more frequent. The mineral resources are very extensive, besides coal this country yields: gold, silver, copper, sulphur, and iron ores in great abundance, and for architectural purposes fine gray granite, brown stone, slate for roofing, limestone and marble are worked. The population corresponded during the 17th and 18th centuries with that of the tidewater region, but it had a visible tincture of German. Since the end of the war enterprising settlers from Europe and from the North and West, have come here, and within the last ten years a marked improvement is manifested in the general appearance of the country.

The Piedmont Division, as its name implies, lies at the foot of the Blue Ridge mountains, and extends from the Potomac to the Dan river. It is a delightful country — for climate, beauty of landscape, variety of scenery, natural fertility of soil, water courses contributing to practical purposes as well as to beauty of scenery, this section is surpassed by few, if any other sections in the United States, and it may justly be called: “the orchard and vineyard of Virginia.” The highest mountains are the picturesque peaks of Otter — 3874 and 4000 feet high, and if the atmosphere is clear the mountains are enveiled in a violet tint or vapor, like the Alps on the line of northern Italy and Switzerland. The climate is, as has been stated before, mild and invigorating. Piedmont is in fact the best sanitarium in the United States, east of the Mississippi. The population is of a cosmopolitan character — and to her industrious German element this section is indebted for much of its prosperity.

The Valley is a portion of the great central Appalachian valley, that extends for several hundred miles from Canada to Alabama, a broad belt of rolling country, enclosed between lofty mountain ranges, diversified by hills and valleys with many winding streams of water. The Blue Ridge is on the east, and

the Kitatinny or Endless Mountains on the west.⁵²) The Valley is the American land of red soil — and it enjoys and deserves the reputation of great fertility. The various grasses for hay and pasture, the natural blue grass lands, make the valley the home of the stock raiser and dairy man. Washington, the noble and great son of Virginia, remarked about this rich section: "In soil, climate and productions, in my opinion, it will be considered, if not considered so already, as the garden of America." For a century and a half human labor has especially improved it and made it the most flourishing part of Virginia. Randolph Harrison, Commissioner of Agriculture, said⁵³): "A large portion of the valley was settled by Pennsylvania Germans in the early history of the State. These people brought with them their frugal habits, their conservative systems and modes of farming, which served to keep it what nature made it to be — one of the most desirable tracts of country in the United States." Besides her farming advantages the valley possesses many mineral springs of excellent waters of their nature and many minerals are found there. This district is naturally divided in the following sub-divisions: the Shenandoah valley, the Jamesriver valley, the Roanoke valley, the New River and Kanawha valley, and the Holston or Tennessee valley.

The Blue Ridge Division or New River Plateau is enclosed between the two widely diverging ranges of the Blue Ridge and comprises the counties of Floyd, Carroll and Grayson. Its mean elevation over the sea is about 2600 feet, and the soil is covered by timber and grass. These counties send to market herds of fine healthy cattle, flocks of sheep, much high prized tobacco, wheat, dried fruit, etc., and some of the finest apples produced in Virginia. The mineral resources are very great, but undeveloped, and offer profitable investment to enterprising capitalists.

The Appalachian Country is a rough mountain district thinly populated. It is composed of a number of parallel mountain chains, with trough-like valleys between them, the moun-

52) "Virginia, a Geographical and Political Summary," by the Board of Immigration, page 8. Richmond, Va., 1876.

53) "Handbook of Virginia," Fifth edition, by the Commissioner of Agriculture, p. 110. Richmond, Va., 1886.

tains often extending for fifty miles or more as an unbroken, single, straight, lofty ridge, with an equally uniform valley alongside: sometimes the mountains recede and the valleys widen.⁵⁴⁾ This district belongs to the Mississippi valley, for the waters are all drained off into that river, either by the tributaries of the Ohio or the Tennessee rivers. It is rich in timber, coal and iron and also has some mineral springs of sanitary value.

The New State of West Virginia, to which a later chapter of this history is devoted, resembles in its western part the last described district, — it is underlaid with coal, rich in timber, though upon the mountains it is still chiefly an untrodden wilderness, — and the eastern counties are in respect to surface, resources and population similar to the Shenandoah valley.

These short geographical remarks will serve to gain a view of the different divisions of Virginia and to facilitate a correct understanding of the following historical account.

54) "Virginia, a geographical and political summary," by the Board of Immigration. p 8, etc. 1876

CHAPTER IV.

CAUSES OF THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION INTO VIRGINIA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the early part of the eighteenth century a large number of Germans immigrated as well into Virginia as into Pennsylvania and were the instrument by which the immense natural resources of the colony were developed and a regular and sound state of affairs was created. In the numerous petty States of the German empire, at the end of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, most deplorable conditions prevailed and the suffering of the people was nigh unbearable. The cruelty of the despotic rulers had already driven thousands of peaceable citizens from their homes and across the ocean, — to Virginia also Germans had come and the number of the fugitives from the German Fatherland increased yearly. Particularly southern Germany — and there especially the once flourishing Palatinate, sighed under the hardships and devastations of repeated wars, the tyranny of extravagant princes, and the hateful struggle for supremacy of the various Christian confessions. In the seventeenth century the despotism of the Elector of the Palatinate had forced his people to change its creed three times, first to the Lutheran, then to the Calvinist, again to the Lutheran and finally a second time to the Calvinist faith. This occurrence is certainly abhorrible as the most unwarranted oppression of the liberty of thought and conscience. Louis XIV of France, invaded the German country and destroyed its last resources. The French marshal de Turenne devastated this beautiful section of Germany from 1673 to 1676 — and in 1689 Durat ordered the population of nearly half a million people to leave their homes within three days. In the midst of winter,

without shelter or food, many died. The cities of Phillipsburg, Frankenthal, Mannheim, etc., were reduced to ashes, fields and vineyards were devastated and the magnificent castle of Heidelberg was demolished. After all these trials the enemy at home took the place of the French tormentor. Elector Johann Wilhelm, 1690-1716, an able pupil of the Jesuits and an unbounded prodigal, aimed to take advantage of the animosity between the Lutherans and Reformists for forcible conversion to Catholicism, and his successor, Karl Philipp, persecuted all Protestants in fanatic fury and forced emigration on many.

Similar conditions prevailed in the entire German empire and particularly in the countries of the lower Rhine, Hannover and Thuringia. To make the national misfortune complete, French taste, luxury and corruption spread among the higher classes of society, and morality and propriety of conduct disappeared. Thus Germany grew faithless to its true character and bowed to foreign influence. Helpless and poor, in constant fear of death, the mass of the people took refuge with its inmost feeling and thought, saving to themselves self-respect and the belief in human equality. Under ruins and mould, behind prison-walls, germinated the seed-corn of true humanity and sound philosophy. Amidst its disgrace the heart of the German nation commenced to embrace the real theory of life and liberty, and the plain and pious peasant and citizen learned to value the art of reasoning in place of quiet submission to despotism. More sects were organized and each of them, even when adopting odd methods, gave evidence of mental impulse and independent reasoning. Their followers adhered to it manly and neither persecution nor exile forced them to desert their belief.

The German emigrants to America, having gone through such a school of bitter trials, imported firmness of character and had the willingness and qualification of doing the hard labor of pioneers. Faithful to their conviction they proved themselves in the New World conducive to the public good, obedient to law — and yet firmly devoted to the principles of liberty.

In the year 1702 Queen Anne ascended the English throne. Moved by the sufferings of the German people and recognizing

their qualifications for the colonization of her American provinces, she patronized German immigration to Pennsylvania, New York, the Carolinas, Virginia, etc. At the same time several of the German Swiss cantons, like Bern, Basél, Appenzell, St. Gallen, etc., undertook to colonize the surplus of their population in South and North Carolina and Virginia.

Among those unfortunate Palatines who had been robbed by the French plunderers and then forced to emigrate, was Rev. Josua von Kocherthal.⁵⁵) In January 1708 he applied to the English resident at Frankfurt a./M., Mr. Davenant, to furnish him and several families, numbering in all 61 persons, with money and passports to travel to England. Davenant asked his government for instructions — and the request was declined. However the Palatines managed to reach London and being without means of support, Queen Anne granted to each of them one shilling per day. The news of their kind treatment soon spread in Germany and intensified the longing to escape the sufferings at home. At the same time English emissaries travelled in the German States to induce wealthy people to emigrate to America, and these men distributed pamphlets and books containing the most enticing descriptions of the resources, fertility and beauty of the New World. On the 4th of February 1709 Montague offered in the English parliament a bill for the naturalization of foreign Protestants, which was passed without opposition. This new law purposed to induce the rich French Huguenots to emigrate to the English colonies, — but the poor people of southern Germany considered it as an invitation extended to them too. In the spring of 1709 the exodus was very great, so much so that in June more than 10,000 Germans had arrived in London, and at the end of the year their number is said to have been 32,500. Most of them were homeless, poor but good and useful working people. Frank's "Frankfurter Mess Kalender" reports for instance, that from Easter to the fall of 1709 about 6520 German Protestants reached London, of which 1278 were men with families, 1238 married women, 39 widows, 384 young men, 106 maidens, 379 boys and 374 girls over 14 years

55) "Geschichte der deutschen Einwanderung in Amerika," by Friedrich Kapp, p 79. N. Y. 1868.

of age and 2672 children of different age. The professions among them were represented by 1083 farmers and vintagers, 90 carpenters, 34 bakers, 48 masons, 20 cabinet-makers, 40 shoe-makers, 58 tailors, 15 butchers, 27 millers, 7 tanners, 4 stocking-weavers, 6 barbers, 3 lock-smiths, 13 blacksmiths, 46 linen and woolen-weavers, 48 coopers, 13 cast-wrights, 5 hunters, 7 saddlers, 2 glaziers, 2 hat-makers, 8 tile-makers, 1 cook, 10 teachers, 1 student and 2 engravers, in short they were of the working and middle classes. But on account of their large number they soon became a burden to the English government and the native population,—however they were cared for as far as possible. The queen paid daily 160 pounds sterling for their support, in all parts of Great Britain collections were started for the benefit of “the poor Germans.” The linen weavers were taken to Scotch and Irish factories, the young girls received employment in families, — many young men took service in the army and navy, and all others were taken to camp at Black Heath near Greenwich until they could be transported to America. But many of those in camp, it is said several thousands, died of fever.

More than 3000 were sent to New York, about 600 to North Carolina, and several shiploads to *Virginia*. E. Willard says⁵⁶): “Six or seven thousand arrived during the year 1710 and settled in the province of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina.”

A German letter by David Topp, dated: Lemgo, January 5th 1711, is preserved in the State Library at Richmond. The name of the person addressed is missing, — but the contents of the letter indicate that he was a clergyman — and it gives evidence of the continued immigration of Germans. The pious mode of thinking of the German people and the deplorable conditions which prevailed in Germany at that time, are also illustrated by this interesting document. We copy the following from it: “Wir können nichts weiter alsz das wir wünschen, der Herre Herr, welcher ihn so wunderbahrlich bisz dahin geführt, der wolle ihn fernerweit in seiner christ-

⁵⁶) “History of the United States,” by E. Willard, pp. 134, 135. New York and Chicago. 1871.

lichen resolution und Gelassenheit stärken, festigen und gründen: ja Er wolle ihm Gnade geben, sich selbst und viele andere Menschen stark zu machen an den inwendigen Menschen, das Sie durch seine Lehre und Leben dasz eitele Wesen dieser Welt und die theuerwerthen ewigen schätze in dem himmlischen Sion unterscheiden und erwählen lernen." — — — and furthermore to elucidate the wretched condition in the German empire: "Hier in Lemgo neiget sich alles kräftig zum untergange und werden wir unvermerket unserm Landesherrn gantz subject, wie dan hier in Teutschland die Herrschaften alle souverain, und die unterthanen alle slavisch werden, Gott ändere die Gemüther und bessere die Zeiten, sonst wird alles desperat werden. Das beste ist dasz fast zehen jahr her noch so wohlfeile Zeit allhier gewest; wir wüssten gern wasz bei ihnen vor getreide wächset und ob es wohl hoch im preisse sei, worauf *da so viel Familien jaehrlich dazu kommen*, und wie und womit sich dieselben alle ernehren, ob Sie alda Häuser finden oder bauen, ob Sie die Heyden oder Wilden mit der Zeit vertreiben oder bekehren, oder was es für arth menschen da gebe und wie Sie leben. Ich bitte nochmahlst um weitläufige Nachricht und schliesse damit." —

The treatment on sea was rough, many died and found their graves in the ocean. Very characteristic is an old German-American verse:

"Sie wurden in enger Kojen kalt —
 Gelangten nie zum Port —
 Man hat sie auf ein Brett geschmellt
 Und warf sie ueber Bord."

Just as correctly says Koesting⁵⁷):

"In einem Hafen Englands, angesichts
 Bebuschter Kreidefelsen, lag, umschwaermt
 Von Moeven und Schaluppen, angewaermt
 Vom Sonnenglanz des jungen Morgenlichts,
 Ein segelfertig Schiff, fuer wen'ge Stunden
 Noch mit dem Ufer durch ein Brett verbunden.
 Auswand'rer draengten sich auf dem Verdeck,
 Verschuechtert Volk, von fluchenden Matrosen
 Nicht besser als sein ungeschlacht Gepaeck

(27.) "Der Weg nach Eden," by Karl Koesting, p. 59. Leipzig, 1884.

Behandelt. Schweigend liessen sie sich stossen ;—
Bloss Deutsche waren's, die sich nicht erbosten, —
 Sie kamen frisch aus einer Hoelle her,
 Drum scheuten sie kein Fegefeuer mehr.
 Auch war man laengstens in fuenf Wochen ja
 Im Land der Sehnsucht: in Amerika !”

By sickness and bad food a great many of these poor brave people were taken away and never gained the shores of the land of their craving. In the year 1743 a vessel arrived in Hampton Roads, Va., with German immigrants, — 200 in number they had left England, but 160 died on sea — and only 40 landed on Virginia soil.⁵⁸⁾

It would be unjust to hold the English government responsible for the ill treatment the emigrants had to endure at sea, for it was prompted by the very best intentions towards the German colonists. The government granted to each German 40 acres of land, the necessary agricultural implements and provisions for one year, — but many limitations to these liberal conditions subjected them to the mercy of the governors and selfish officials — and thus frustrated the good intentions of the royal government. The well-known ardent tenacity of the German colonists outlived these distressing difficulties, and by endurance and hard labor they proved a blessing to the colony.

58) “In der neuen Heimath,” by Max Eickhoff, p 202. New York, 1884

CHAPTER V.

GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN MIDDLE VIRGINIA AND PIEDMONT.

IN the year 1714 Governor Alexander Spotswood founded a German settlement in that part of the colony which was in 1720 named after him: the county of Spotsylvania. The occasion for this measure was the partial failure of Franz Ludwig Michel and Baron Christopher von Graffenried, both from Berne in Switzerland, to establish a colony in North Carolina. This conclusion is evident by reading the "Spotswood Letters" published in Vol. I of "Collections of the Historical Society of Virginia." On page 116 is stated: that in 1709 the lord proprietors had sold to Christopher Baron von Graffenried 10,000 acres of land on the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers at the rate of £10 for each 1000 acres. A great number of Palatines and Swiss followed him to North Carolina and founded New Berne. But during the massacre of the Tuscarora Indians they became disheartened, for many families were murdered and Baron Graffenried himself was taken prisoner. This tragic event occurred in 1711. After the baron's release he sold his land to Th. Pollock and with a number of Swiss and Palatines he removed to Virginia, where he settled in the forks of the Potomac. Besides, other causes necessitated this re-emigration. Many colonists were disappointed by not receiving the promised title for 200 acres of land to each family, and the unwholesome location of Graffenried's possessions may have influenced many of them to select some other country wherein to settle. "New Berne" — says Dr. Johann Daniel Schoepf in his account of his travels during the last century⁶⁰): "is situated on a point of land em-

59.) "Historical Collections of the Historical Society of Virginia," p. 137.

60.) "Dr. Schoepf's Amerika," or compare: "Der Sueden," d-a. Wochenschrift, I Jahrgang, p. 3. Richmond, Va, 1891.

braced by the rivers New and Trent. The beds of these rivers are very deep, but the shores are low and subject to frequent inundations. For these reasons the country does not enjoy a salubrious climate and pure air, and in fall many people die by sickness. The mortality of the children especially is very great, in fact twice as great as in the Northern States."

A number of colonists parted altogether with Baron Graffenried. They wandered up the New river to the fertile valleys at the southern slopes of the Alleghany mountains in Virginia, where the present counties of Wythe, Pulaski, Montgomery and Craig are located, and they built another New Berne in Pulaski.

Others, who had followed Baron von Graffenried to the forks of the Potomac, encountered renewed, unlooked for difficulties. Their leader went there upon written instructions of the queen to the governor of Virginia: to assign to him that section without pay, — but older claims on the land interfered. In a letter dated July 26th 1714, Governor Spotswood says himself: that a number of German Protestants came to Germanna on his inducement. They immigrated to Virginia with Baron Graffenried, who was in possession of a letter from the queen, by which he, Spotswood, received instructions to assign to these people tracts of land. Most of these Germans were miners, writes the governor, and he exempted them for several years from payment of taxes, to encourage others of their countrymen to settle in Virginia. Graffenried,⁶¹⁾ utterly disgusted by the failure of his plans, gave up all further efforts at colonization, — but Governor Spotswood and some other 'gentlemen,' as is stated in the Spotswood-letter of July 21st 1714, cared for the deserted colonists. Governor Spotswood induced a number of them to enter his service and he erected, with their assistance, on the shores of the Rapidan, between the Russel- and Wilderness-runs: "ironworks" and the town *Germanna*; the balance of the immigrants settled in the present counties of Stafford, King George and Westmoorland. In Stafford county a German settlement was built up at Germanna Ford. Even at the present

61.) Several descendants of Graffenried are living in North Carolina and Virginia. One Dr. Joseph de Graffenried represented Luxemburg in the Assembly from 1805 to 1816 and W. B. de Graffenried was a member of the Petersburg Virginian Volunteers organized October 21st 1812, he served with honor during the war until May 5th 1813.

time occasionally traces of those German settlers are found. Mr. J. Kohler of Richmond is in possession of a Luther-medal bearing the date of 1720. It was ploughed up in Stafford county and was encrusted with earth. It is about the size of a silver-dollar, and is in a fine state of preservation. Upon the obverse are in bass-relief bust portraitures of Luther and Melancton, with the legend, D. Martin Luther, Philip Melancton. On the reverse is depicted the Diet of Worms, in Session, and the legend:

Ein gut bekenntnis vor vielen zeugen

1st Tim., 6, 12.

Augsburg Con. Memoria Renov.

1730.

The date marks the two hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Augsburg confession, which was compiled by Melancton and endorsed by Luther.

By direction of Governor Spotswood dwelling houses, a church, a court-house and a residence for himself were built at Germanna and surrounded by palisades for protection against the Indians. The English historian Hugh Jones⁶²) also reports, that the governor employed servants and negroes to clear the land all round, in order to give settlers a good opinion of this little populated country and to encourage their countrymen to join them. There is no doubt but that this historical remark refers to the Germans — and appreciative of their industry Sir Spotswood also encouraged *direct immigration from Germany*. The relations between the governor and the German colonists were of the very best kind. They called Virginia in his honor: "Spotsylvania"—and he was at home with them. He was so much charmed by this laborious and peaceable people, that he married a young German lady by name "Theke" and born in Hannover. Col. Byrd, the founder of Richmond, describes in his "Progress of the mines" the family life of the governor and his attachment to his wife and many children, in picturesque language.

The reports concerning the first direct immigration from Germany to the settlements on the Rapidan are somewhat contradicting. Dr. Slaughter puts it to 32 families, while other

62) "The Present State of Virginia," by Hugh Jones. London, 1724.

historians speak of two separate parties⁶³) of which the first numbered 12 families and is said to have arrived in 1714, and the second counted 20 families and reached Germanna in 1717. However, both statements agree in the main point: the total number of 32 families. Dr. Slaughter also says: the first settlers had a quarrel with the ship-captain over their passage money and cites other authority to show that some time after the settlement of Germanna the condition of the colonists was deplorable in the last degree. Governor Spotswood, under date of 1714, writes to Ye Lords Commissioners of Trade: "The act for exempting certain German Protestants from ye payment of Levys is made in fav'r of several Familys of that Nation, who upon the encouragement of the Baron de Graaffenried came over hither in the hopes of finding out mines (they were engaged principally in mining in their native land), but the Baron's misfortunes obliged him to leave the country before their arrival. They have been settled on ye Frontiers of Rappahannock and subsisted chiefly at my charge and on the contributions of some gentlemen that have a prospect of being reimbursed by their labors." — Later "complaints" were made against Spotswood which involved various charges and which in a letter to the "Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations" he answers at length. In refuting the charge that he had built two forts, one at the head of the James river and one at the head of the Rappahannock, at the expense of the country only to support two private interests, he says: that as to the Germanna settlement, there were about forty Germans, men, women and children, who quitted their native country upon the invitation of Baron Graaffenried, and that both in compassion to these strangers and in regard to the safety of the country he placed them together on a piece of land where he built them habitations, and subsisted them until by their own labor they were able to provide for themselves.

Touching a charge that he "denied" to let his Majesty's subjects take up land,—at the same time gave leave or order to another person to take up 12,000 acres to be patented in the

63) Compare Senator Lovenstein's Oration at the "German Day" celebration in Richmond, October 6th, 1890, published in the "Richmond Dispatch" and "Richmond Times," October 7th, 1890.

name of John Robinson to his (Spotswood's) own private use and leased the same to "ye Germans,"—he says: that the patents being signed by the governor it would be improper to grant one to himself. He also claims, that the Germans were not insensible to the kindness he had shown them, and that instead of being his tenants they might have been his servants in view of the passage money — 150 £s. they owed him. The date of these answers is 1716.

The consensus of authority is that Spotswood bent his every energy to the development of the resources of the colony, but as has been seen: he did not escape harsh criticism. Reference has been made to his land "deal" with Robinson, but that was not his only "deal" in which the German interest figured. In 1722 he granted to Richard Hickman 28,000 acres of land, the consideration for which, as the books of the Register of the Land Office show, was monetary alone. In 1732 the same land was "confirmed" to Spotswood upon the averment of Hickman: that it had been held in trust for Spotswood.

"In the following period, from 1720 to 1732," so report the "Halleschen Nachrichten," "the number of high German Protestants from the Palatinate, Wuertenberg, Darmstadt and other places, increased. Many came, too, from the State of New York to Virginia, who had been transported there from England during the reign of Queen Anne. They spread and settled in all parts of the province. Some of those who arrived about the middle of this period, were accompanied by preachers like Reverends Hinkel, Falkner, Stoever, etc."

Although plain people, these early German pioneers were not wanting a certain degree of education. The fact alone, that in their company German preachers and schoolmasters came to the virgin woods of Virginia, confirms this assertion; and old documents: the Land Registers and County Records, show that nearly all of them could read and write. Several of their descendants have filled the highest state offices. Among the pioneers who arrived in 1714 was Johann Kemper from Oldenburg, who settled afterwards in the German colony in Madison county, and in 1717 married Alice Utterback. Their son, John Peter Kemper, in 1738 married a daughter of the

German parson Dr. Haeger⁶⁴) and one of their descendants is James Lawson Kemper at Orange Court House, who had command of one brigade of Picket's celebrated division in the battle of Gettysburg, and was dangerously wounded at the heroic attack of the so-called "Round Top"; but he recovered from his wounds and from 1873 to 1878 he was governor of the State. The biography of General and Governor Kemper follows in a later chapter. — The German inhabitants of Germanna were generally esteemed and some of them were appointed to important offices. In 1748 a commission was entrusted with a revision of the colonial laws and the German, Benj. Waller of Germanna, was a member of that body.

Gerhard Hinkel or Henkel, as his descendants call him, was an old man, of seventy-five years when he came to Virginia as the *first* German preacher.⁶⁵) It seems that he was a Saxon by birth, for he had held the position of court chaplain to Duke Moritz Wilhelm of Saxony-Weitz until this prince confirmed to the Catholic creed and exiled him. Hinkel then occupied a preachingship at Zweibruecken in the Palatinate — and at the time when the Elector Karl Philipp attempted to exile the confessors to the Lutheran and Calvin confessions, he became the leader of the fugitive Palatines and accepted the ministry of their church in Germanna, Virginia. The German-American historian, H. A. Rattermann of Cincinnati, O., examined Hinkel's daybook, which is in possession of Dr. Geo. C. Henkel at Farmersville, O., and reports: "The church was named the 'hopeful church' (Hoffnungsvolle Kirche), for its members were inspired with hope that they might be allowed with the assistance of the Lord to worship the Savior Jesus Christ undisturbed, according to the teachings of the late Dr. Luther and the statutes of the confession of Augsburg." — In an historical sketch of the Shenandoah valley⁶⁶) Andreas Simon relates: that Rev. Hinkel was a descendant of Count Hinkel von Poeltzig, to whom America is indebted: to have induced Rev. Heinrich Melchior Muehlenberg, the patriarch of the

64.) Compare "Virginia and Virginians," by Dr. R. A. Brook. Richmond, Va., 1888.

65.) "Deutscher Pionier," Vol. 12, No. 2, page 66. Cincinnati, O., 1880.

66.) "Der Westen," Sunday issue of Ill. Staats-Zeitung, May 29, 1892. Chicago, Ill.

Lutheran Church in America, to make it, after 1742, the field of his meritorious activity.

These statements are also confirmed by some of the Spotswood Letters, not yet mentioned.⁶⁷⁾ In a report, dated May 1712, the governor says, that Baron von Graffenried, with several Swiss families, came to the forks of the Potomac to settle there and that he was greatly disappointed, having expected to receive the lands as a gift from the Queen. In another letter, dated February 7, 1716, Spotswood mentions that about forty Germans, men, women and children, had left North Carolina with Baron Graffenried, because he could not fulfill his promises to them and on account of a horrible plot of the Tuscarora Indians for extermination of the entire white population. The governor added, that he had houses built for them some miles distant from Germanna and that he was furnishing them with provisions until they could provide for themselves. He also says: that he does not expect to be unjust, requiring them to repay his advances. — The above mentioned "Mines and Ironworks" were erected in the "Wilderness," the bloody battlefield of the late war of secession, situated between Germanna and Fredericksburg—and the "Handbook of Virginia"⁶⁸⁾ says about them: "The oldest furnace in America of which we have any certain knowledge, was 'Spotswood' in the county Spotsylvania, described by Col. Byrd in the Westover Manuscript a century and a half ago." At the present time iron ore is still produced there by the Wilderness Mining Co., five miles south from Parker's station.

The existence of Germanna seems to have been not of long duration. The German inhabitants who were appointed overseers on Spotswood's plantations or employed in his mines and at the iron furnace, finally had to claim large sums for unpaid wages, and in place of payment he transferred to them large tracts of land on Robertson river, a tributary of the Rapidan, in the present county of Madison. Others acquired farms in a similar manner in Spotsylvania, Culpepper and Stafford counties. Dr. Slaughter, the historian above mentioned, furnishes history,

67.) Collections of the Historical Society of Virginia, Vol. I.

68) "Handbook of Virginia," by the Commissioner of Agriculture. 5th edition, p. 82. Richmond, Va., 1886.

tradition, and names, which go to show that a colony from the Germanna immigrants settled *Germantown*, in Fauquier county. In the middle of the eighteenth century, writes Col. Byrd,⁶⁹⁾ "Germanna consisted of the residence of Governor Spotswood and a dozen and a half of half decayed houses, formerly occupied by German families."

On the modern maps of Virginia, Germanna cannot be found, but on "a map of the internal improvement of Virginia," by C. Crozet, published by Ritchie & Dannavent, Richmond, Va., 1855, the "Germanna Mills" are mentioned, located in the north-eastern corner of Orange county, and exactly in the place where the town of Germanna was once erected. On the maps: "Carte de la Virginie," par Robert de Vaugondy, 1758, "A map of the British and French Dominions," by J. Mitchell, "A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia," by J. Frey and P. Jefferson, and "A map of the country between Albemarle Sound and Lake Erie," the town Germanna is named and besides the following localities with German names in Spötsylvania and adjoining counties: Hedgeman, Hedgeman's River, Germantown, Fredericksburg and Buckner.⁷⁰⁾

Governor Spotswood was the first to cross the "Blue Ridge" on horseback.⁷¹⁾ Desirous to learn more of the wilderness west of the mountains, he equipped a party of 30 horsemen, employed some Indian guides, and heading in person, left Williamsburg in August 1716. They were well supplied with provisions and invigorating drink. At Germanna they rested for a few days and thence they travelled by way of Mountain Run to the Rappahannock, which they crossed at Somerville's Ford. Advancing on the left shore of the river, near Peyton's Ford, they recrossed and proceeded to near the present site of Stannardsville in Green county, whence they passed through

69.) Compare: "The Westover Manuscript," printed by Edmond and Julian Ruffin, Petersburg, Va., 1841.

70.) Buckner is a German family name, and in Virginia it reaches back to the earliest days of the colony. Many members of this family were men of prominence. One, Major Richard Buckner, was collector in Williamsburg in 1710; M. Buckner was Colonel of the 6th Virginia regiment during the War of Independence; but special credit is owing to the German printer, John Buckner, who in 1730 set up the *first printing press* in Virginia.

71.) Compare: "History of the Valley," by Sam'l Kerchevall. Woodstock, Va., 1850; and "Der Einfluss der Deutschen auf die kulturgeschichtliche Entwicklung des amerikanischen Volkes," by H. A. Rattermann, "Deutscher Pionier," 1876, No. 3, page 106.

the Blue Ridge by way of Swift Run Gap into the beautiful valley. Crossing the Shenandoah river a few miles north of where Port Republic is located, near what is known as River Bank in Rockingham, the intrepid governor pushed onward to the west across the Shenandoah valley and through the mountain defiles, until on the 5th of September 1716, on one of the loftiest peaks of the Appalachian range, probably within the limits of what is now Pendleton county in West Virginia, they halted. Governor Spotswood ordered the bugle to be sounded, speeches were made, provisions and delicious beverages partaken of, and the health of King George I was toasted. The highest peak of the mountains was baptized "Mount George," and another "Mount Spotswood or Alexander," in honor of the governor, but nobody can tell to-day what mountain tops were thus honored. Failing to discover any indication that the Mississippi originated in this part of the country, as had been thought likely, the party returned to Williamsburg and in glowing terms described the country they had visited. For the purpose of inducing emigration to the great western valley and the mountain sides with mystical hygeian fountains from which flowed the life-giving water, — the governor established the "Trans-mountain Order, or Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe," presenting to each of those who had accompanied him a miniature golden horse-shoe with the inscription: "*Sic jurat transcendere montes*" (thus he swears to cross the mountains). These decorations were given to all who would agree to comply with the inscription.

The German colony on Robinson river, west of the present town of Madison, prospered under the kind government of Sir Alexander Spotswood. The colonists were laborious and pious people. In 1735 they founded a congregation with Rev. Johann Kaspar Stoever as parson, who also took charge of the church at Germanna, upon Rev. Henkel's acceptance of a call to the congregation near the Yadkin river in North Carolina. The Germans in Madison county at first erected a large log-house in a glen amid the virgin wood, where never before a pale-face had risked to wander. The church registers which until 1810 were written in German, show that two sentinels, armed with muskets, were posted at the entrance of the meeting-house, to guard

the farmers, their wives and children while at worship from surprise by the Indians. These guards — and likewise the parson — received their pay in tobacco, which was the tender of those times.

In the year 1739 Rev. Stoever travelled to Germany in order to raise money for building a church, a parsonage with *school rooms* and to establish a *library*. The instruction in school afterwards was given by the venerable parson himself and it comprised: religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic. This achievement of Rev. Stoever cannot be praised too highly, *for his school was the first authentical school for white children in the Old Dominion.*

The "few old field-schools,—log huts in the fields or woods," — of which John Esten Cook makes mention in his book: "Virginia," — and which he says to have existed as early as 1634, — are too obscure to be taken in consideration and scarcely possessed a claim on the high title of: "Schools." This opinion is confirmed in an article referring to Virginia: "Early Education in the South," published in the "U. S. Educational Report," 1895 to 1896, Vol. I, page 269: "In this period of nearly one hundred and seventy years (1608—1776) we find nothing to remind us even of the beginnings of the American common schools, save, perhaps, the action of neighbors in the support of a 'field school,' or neighborhood arrangement, temporary in its character, but the outgrowth of a popular desire for the schooling of the children."

Some historians, and even the German-American: Friedrich Kapp — in his "History of the Germans in the State of New York, — have represented the German immigrants of that period as of low intellectual and moral standing. Kapp, for instance, says: "Even in religious respects there was a great difference between our countrymen and the English settlers. The English brought to America as an indispensable part of their inventory the schoolhouse and the church, while the Germans struggled for their maintenance before they thought of educating their children, if in fact they possessed any interest for such duty." — The most vicious "Knownothing" could not have defamed the early German immigrants any more and offended the truth in a more startling manner, than

Friedrich Kapp. The majority of the Germans left their dear Fatherland and came to America for religious causes, — while in Virginia, as has been stated, the English Governor Berkeley recommended to the clergy: “to preach less and to pray more” — and expressed the hope: “that within a hundred years to come *no public school* would exist in the colony.” The impetuous Bacon fully characterized the English educational standing in Virginia, addressing to Gov. Berkeley the damaging query: “What arts, sciences, schools of learning or manufactures hath been promoted by any now in authority?” The Germans brought with them their preachers and schoolmasters — and they built churches and schools at once! The facts, that they were plain, modest, but not wealthy farmers and artisans, that they did not possess the conventional forms and social polish of the English aristocracy, and that their inefficiency in the English language obliged them to stand back in public life, can certainly not degrade them in intellectual or moral respects. It must not be overlooked that the colonial government employed *German intelligence* to explore the country. In contradiction to F. Kapp says Kercheval⁷²), the historian of the Shenandoah Valley: “It is remarkable that throughout the whole extent of the United States the Germans, in proportion to their wealth, have the best churches, organs and grave-yards.”

Some dark shadows fall upon the glorious early history of the German colony in Madison county. Rev. Stoever had been very successful in the money collecting in the old Fatherland, and after the erection of the “Hopeful Evangelic Lutheran Church,” etc., a considerable surplus was left, which was invested in the purchase of 700 acres of land and a *number of slaves*. This is one of the rare cases, wherein Germans departed from their dislike of the institution of slavery. — Soon after confessional differences displaced harmony. Count Zinssendorf, the head of the Herrenhutens (Moravians), came to Virginia and he tried to convert the Lutherans and Reformists. Some members of the Hebron-congregation commenced to waver and Rev. Stoever was obliged to defend his young parish with

72) “History of the Valley of Virginia,” by Samuel Kercheval, p 260 Woodstock, Va., 1850.

energy. Some wandering preachers like Kurz, Goering and others caused similar disturbances, and from 1740 to 1796 the "infamous" Karl Rudolph, as Rev. H. M. Muehlenberg⁷³) called him, persuaded members of the churches at Madison and Germanna to join the Baptists. A community of Dunkards (Tunker) was organized by the side of the Lutheran, but in 1780 they emigrated to Pennsylvania under the leadership of their preacher, Johannes Tanner. It is doubtful if Tanner was the correct name of the man. Some believe⁷⁴) that his real name was Danner or Gerber.

These disturbances induced Rev. Stoever to look for support and by his influence the German Lutheran communities, which had been organized successively at Fredericksburg, New Market, Strasburgh, Winchester, Woodstock, etc., joined the "Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania."

The Hebron church in Madison still exists and possesses antique, sacred vessels, which it received from friends in Germany,—but the greatest ornament and the pride of the church is the German organ, imported a hundred years ago and transported from Philadelphia to Madison on ox-drays.

Rev. Wm. Zimmermann anglicized this old German church and translated and changed also his own German name to "Carpenter." However a loving and proud remembrance of their German origin still exists among the members of the Hebron community, but the use of the German language has died out. He, who at the present time attends the service in the old Lutheran church, will meet there the descendants of the brave pioneers who immigrated into this Virginia wilderness nearly 200 years ago. Most of these German-Virginians are wealthy and highly respected people. Several of them have held the highest offices in the county and have represented it in the Legislature.

About the middle of the eighteenth century many Germans settled in Orange, Culpepper, Rappahannoc, Fauquier, Loudon, Prince William, Page, Green, Albemarle, and Louisa counties. Among the many German emigrants, who came to

73) Compare: "Hallesche Nachrichten," p. 264.

74) Compare: "Deutscher Pionier," No. 12, p. 68.

America in the early period of the eighteenth century, were Andrew Waggener with his five brothers.⁷⁵) Edward with another brother settled in the present county of Culpepper in 1750. They joined Col. Washington as volunteers in his expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1754 and marched with the First Virginia Regiment to the fatal scene of Braddock's defeat, where Edward fell among the dead. Andrew again took part in defence of the frontier against the Indians, was commissioned Captain and placed in command of Fort Pleasant. In 1765 he purchased land at Bunker's Hill, then in Frederick, now in Berkeley county, where he dwelled until the outbreak of the Revolution, when he once more entered the army and served to the end of the war. He bore a major's commission and was in the battles of Valley Forge, Princeton, Trenton, and Yorktown. Major Waggener was a personal friend of General Washington and a frequent guest of the first President.

It is an erroneous though commonly current belief that the above named counties are of exclusive English constitution. The names of German settlers and of their homes have been frequently changed, their origin has been forgotten and the Germans now living in the State know very little about it and often admire as the result of English "smartness" what has often been the fruit of German labor. This may be illustrated by the following.

In 1886 the author bought his farm in the north-west corner of Louisa county, adjoining Albemarle and Orange counties—and in former years and particularly during the late war, he had noticed many traces of German life in this section of Virginia. The name of the real estate agent who sold him the farm was Yaeger (Jaeger), one of his nearest neighbours, named Crittenberger, was a descendant of a Hessian taken prisoner in the War of Independence, his butcher calls himself Schlosser, his provision dealer Scholz, his dry goods merchants Baer and Marcus, etc., and it was therefore but natural to conjecture, that Germans had already participated in the first settlement of these counties. To ascertain the facts he went to the county seat Louisa and asked the county clerk,

75.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, pp. 499 and 500. Philadelphia, Pa. 1889.

Mr. Porter: "Do you know if any Germans have been among the earliest settlers?" — The clerk, with a smile and some emphasis, replied: "No Sir, — Louisa county is an entirely English county." — Upon the writer's request Mr. Porter showed him the Land Registers and he himself opened the oldest volume, beginning with the year 1742. After looking with surprise at the peculiar law style of the writing, the official remarked: "D if that don't look Dutch!" — The first county clerk, an Englishman, was no penman, as his uncultivated signature denotes — and very likely he employed a German assistant to do the writing. Among the first entries in the Register are the following German names, besides many of uncertain origin: I. Boesick, Robert Hesler, F. Hehler, Benj. Arndt, Armistead, (Armstaedt), Flemming, Kohler, Noack, Brockman, Buckner, Starke, Spiller, etc., and in several cases "Fredericksville Parish" was mentioned as their place of residence. "Where is Fredericksville Parish located?" inquired the writer of the clerk — and after a little hesitation he was told: "That was a German settlement in your part of the county."

This occurrence and the fact that some German villages were founded in Louisa during the present century; about which some later chapter will report, illustrates how little is known about the true history of Virginia. No one will dispute that the Old Dominion is of English foundation, but it must be credited that German toil has materially assisted to make it vital and prosperous. The Germans themselves are to blame, if they are not duly credited for the part their ancestors took in the furtherance of this English colony. Many disowned their German nationality and claimed English or Scotch parentage, expecting to improve their social recognition thereby. This deplorable trait of character of many German immigrants has since disappeared, owing to the ascendancy to a powerful united German empire, gaining the respect of all other nations, — but before 1870 it clouded the history of German emigration in Virginia and elsewhere. — The names of some of the oldest families in Fluvanna, Goochland, Powhatan, and Hannover, — although the English and French

elements dominate in these counties, — indicate that Germans belonged to the first settlers.

In the year 1733 Col. Wm. Byrd from Westover founded the cities of Richmond and Petersburg. In his diary⁷⁶⁾ he reports, in his quaint manner: "When we returned home we laid the foundation of two large cities, one at Shacco's to be called Richmond and the other at the falls of the Appomattox river to be named Petersburg. These Major Mayo offered to lay out into lots without fee or reward. The truth of it is, these two places being the uppermost landing of James and Appomattox rivers, are naturally intended for marts where the traffic of the outer inhabitants must centre. Thus we did not only built castles, but also cities in the air."— Peter Jones⁷⁷⁾ was one of the associate founders—and to him, as the proprietor of the land, Petersburg is indebted for its name. In the year 1742 the Assembly of Virginia passed "an act establishing '*the town of Richmond*' and in 1769 the town of '*Manchester*.'" It is not known who built the first house in the State Capital, but different statements agree that the first sale of land by Col. Byrd was to a German and that the oldest building in the city: "the old stone house on Main street," still standing, was built by a German about 1737. Capt. Wm. Byrd, the son of Col. Byrd, sold the respective lot to Samuel Scherer, who afterwards deeded it to Jacob Ege, — and the property remained in the possession of this German family until a few years ago. — Another report is presented in "The Richmond Dispatch" of January 12th, 1896, as follows: "The 'Stone House' is, without doubt, the oldest building in Richmond, and its erection probably antedates the laying out of the town.

"In 1737 the half-acre lot No. 32, fronting on Main between what are now Nineteenth and Twentieth streets, was conveyed by deed from William Byrd and wife to Samuel Ege, and from the amount of the consideration mentioned in the deed, it is presumed there were improvements then on the

76.) "The Westover Manuscript," Petersburg, Va., printed by Edmont & Julian Ruffin, 1841.

77.) "Richmond in By-gone-days," p. 14, — reminiscences of an old citizen, — Richmond, Va., 1856.

lot. It is very probable that the Stone House had been standing on this lot long before the date of this deed. — — — It is reasonable to conjecture that Fort Charles was located on the present site of the old Stone House, and that the stones of the fort were used by Colonel Byrd in the construction of the house used as his quarters. If this be so, the old Stone House may be said to have existed in some shape for about 250 years."

"In 1687 Colonel Byrd patented 956 acres of land on the north side of James river, between Shockoe creek and Gillie's creek, the same land which was afterwards laid out as the town of Richmond. The quarters of Colonel Byrd were doubtless upon this land, and were probably near the fort."

This statement differs in several points with that first mentioned,—but both agree: that the property came in the possession of the German family: Ege, at the time of the foundation of Richmond. — In 1782 Richmond numbered 1,031 inhabitants, of whom 563 were whites, — but it cannot be ascertained how many were Germans. — The oldest land records of *the city of Petersburg* in Dinwiddie county date back to 1784, and among the first entries from 1784 to 1786 sales to the following Germans are recorded: W. Steger, A. Grammer (county clerk,) Fritz Ott, Edw. Stoller, Lewis Starke, Th. Walke, Ch. Seder, Henry Sadler, Joseph Weisiger, Dr. Balmann, John Fischer, Wm. Stabler, Robt. Massenburg, Rich. Gregory, V. Maick, W. Maynard, W. Steinbeck, Daniel Fisher, Frederick Adler, Th. Matthes, etc.

It is claimed also that the first owner of the land, upon which the city of *Lynchburg* in Campbell county was built, was a German Quaker and that from him John Lynch, an Irishman, in whose honor the city received its name, bought the property.

In order to complete the historical reports the following is here placed, although it does not refer to Middle Virginia, but to the Tide-water district.

The cities of *Norfolk* and *Portsmouth*, situated on the western and eastern shores of Elizabeth river, were founded in the beginning of the eighteenth century. There is no doubt but that the German element was represented at both places at this early period. French Huguenots and German Reformists

arrived and settled in Norfolk county during and after the reign of Queen Anne,—and several transports of Germans from the Palatinate were landed at Hampton roads. Some of these immigrants stayed in the coast district—and others, as Hugh Jones confirms, penetrated into the interior to the neighborhood of the Blue Ridge. In 1705 Norfolk was recognized as a town and Portsmouth in 1752. German merchants prospered in both places, which count to the best harbors on the Atlantic coast, — and they kept pace with the development of commerce to the present day.

The founders of *Smithfield*, in the county "Isle of Wight," were Germans. In 1772 they built a Lutheran church, which was continued until 1836, — and it has lately been restored and consecrated.

From 1735 to 1740 another German Swiss immigration from North and South Carolina, Georgia and Switzerland, settled along the southern line of Virginia, on Dan and Roanoke rivers, in the counties of Pittsylvania, Halifax and Mecklenburg. A small book⁷⁸), probably printed at Basel in Switzerland in 1737, shows that some speculative, unscrupulous Swiss had induced hundreds of their countrymen, especially from the cantons Bern, Appenzell and Neuenburg, to emigrate and settle in unwholesome, sterile sections of Georgia and the Carolinas. The book describes the mean deception and sufferings of the unfortunates and it invites them to come to Virginia. It appears that the "Helvetische Societaet" had purchased 30,060 acres of land, located in a curve of the Roanoke river under 36° 30' north latitude and 78° 15' west longitude, and it gives a highly colored description of the "*Eden*," thereby arousing suspicion: that this enterprise was also of a speculative kind. The aforementioned district enjoys the fertility, climate and other conditions necessary to the highest development and invited immigration. Information concerning the number of Swiss settlers near the Roanoke is no longer accessible, but a statement made in the book is of interest: "that there gained considerable wealth in a short

78) "Neu gefundenes Eden, oder ausfuehrlicher Bericht von Sued und Nord Carolina, Pennsylvania, Maryland und Virginia." — In Truck verfertigt durch Befehl der Helvetischen Societaet 1737. — Republished in "Der Westen," Chicago, Ills, November 6th, 1892, to January 29th, 1893.

time a few Swiss and some Frenchmen — by cultivating hemp and flax.” — Col. Byrd, in his “Journey to the land of Eden,” on Roanoke river⁷⁹), confirms what has been said of the character of the land. — It is also confirmed by the publication of the Helvetian Society: “that many French Reformists, respectively people from Alsace and Loraine (now: die Reichslande), owned large plantations along James river, particularly above the James-river-falls (Powhatan and Goochland counties), who had left France fugitive on account of their religious faith.”

79) “Richmond in By-gone days,” p. 52 Richmond, Va, 1856

CHAPTER VI.

SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTH WESTERN MOUNTAIN REGION OF VIRGINIA BY GERMANS AND GERMAN-PENNSYLVANIANS.

ABOUT two decades after the foundation of the German settlements on the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers, a large emigration of Germans to the north western mountainous region of Virginia began, and it soon spread from the Maryland line to the Ohio river into the present States of Kentucky, and Tennessee and North Carolina. However, the main limit was the beautiful and fertile Shenandoah Valley in Virginia.

Tradition has it⁸⁰⁾ that a man by name John Van Matre, a Dutchman from the Hudson, was the first white man who traversed the South Branch Valley, the Wappatomica of the Indians. He was an Indian trader and made his headquarters with the Delawares, whence he journeyed far to the south to trade with the Cherokees and Catawbias. On his return to New York he advised his sons, if ever they should remove to Virginia, to secure lands on the South Branch, being the best he had seen in all his travels. Acting upon this advice Isaac Van Matre, one of his sons, visited the frontier of Virginia about the year 1727, and he was so much pleased with the lands described by his father, that in 1730 he and his brother John accepted from Governor Gooch a patent for 40,000 acres, which they located and surveyed the same year.⁸¹⁾ But the Van Matre's did not undertake to cultivate their large territory.

80) "History of the Valley of Virginia," by S. Kercheval, page 46. Woodstock, Va.

81) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, page 59. Philadelphia, Pa., 1889.

The greater part of the valley between the Blue Ridge and the little North Mountain has an extension of 45 miles from the Potomac, it was a blooming prairie, with the exception of some narrow fringes of timber bordering the creeks and rivers abounding in fish. Game was abundant: buffaloes, elks, deer, the bear, panther, wolves, foxes, beaver and wild fowl. It was, in fact, a tract of land inviting settlers, and the most exaggerated reports concerning it were circulated in Pennsylvania. Still the German farmers in Pennsylvania would not have given up their homes in exchange for it, had not different circumstances made them untenable; especially the frequent raids of the Indians in revenge of encroachments on part of the English. They devastated the German settlements and forced the farmers to re-emigrate. In Rupp's collection of more than 30,000 names of immigrants in Pennsylvania, it is reported, that on May 10th, 1728, the settlers in Colebrook Valley in Pennsylvania petitioned Governor Gordon to protect them against the inroads of the Indians, who had already attacked the settlements near Falkner's Swamp and Goschenhoppen. But no help was granted, and the disappointment of the German farmers was intensified by religious intolerance and various oppressions on part of the English. The laws of Pennsylvania promised religious freedom, and adherents of almost every sect and confession were settled there: Quakers, Mennonites, Dunkards, Moravians, Lutherans, Calvinites, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Inspireds, etc. The result of such a number of heterogeneous elements was jealousy and mutual hatred. The German settlers suffered the most, and the desire arose in their hearts: to live in a country where they might worship the Lord unmolested in conformity with their conviction. They hoped to find such a place in the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia.

Justus Heid or Joist Hite, as his name is spelled in English documents, was one of the subscribers to the above mentioned petition to the Governor of Pennsylvania, and becoming highly disgusted by the indifference of the government, he gave rise to the first immigration of Pennsylvania-Germans to Virginia. He purchased a portion of the lands of the Van Matres in 1732, and he with his family, his sons-in-law: George Bowman, Jacob Chrisman and Paul Froman with their families, and W. Duff,

Peter Stephan or Stephens with others,—in all sixteen families,—left York, Pa., crossed the Potomac, the “Cohongoruta” of the Indians, two miles above the present site of Harper’s Ferry, and thence proceeding up the valley they halted near where Winchester now stands. To Joist Hite therefore belongs the honor of having planted first the standard of civilization in the mountain region of Virginia. The Governor of Virginia confirmed his purchase of land, which afterwards was well known as “Joist Hite Grant,” on account of a lawsuit which Lord Fairfax entered against Joist Hite and which continued in the courts for a period of fifty years.

Hite settled on Opequon, about five miles south of Winchester. Peter Stephens and some others founded Stephansburg or Stephensburg; George Bowman *i. e.* Baumann, made his home on Cedar Creek; Jacob Chrisman *i. e.* Christmann, located near what has ever since been known as Chrisman’s Spring, about two miles south of Stephensburg, and Paul Froman *i. e.* Frohmann, built his dwelling in Froman’s Run, which derives its name from him. Within the next two years the following German pioneers arrived: Robert Harper, from whom Harper’s Ferry derived its name; Thomas Schaefer viz. Shepherd, the founder of Shepherdstown; Thomas Swearingen, James Foreman, Edw. Lucas, Jacob Hite and others. The historian Kercheval reports, that the first settlers of Winchester, in Frederick county, were Germans, but that in the year 1738 only two cabins had been erected. This statement appears to be contradicted by Klauprecht, the historian of the Ohio valley: he states that only two years later, in 1740, two German inhabitants of Winchester, named Thomas Mehrlin and John Salling, started on a bold trading-trip into the Indian country, and from this may be judged that Winchester was at that time a small village. Col. John Hite⁸²⁾ in 1753, a son of Justus Heid and distinguished by his bravery during the Indian war, built near Winchester a house of limestone, which was at that time considered to be the most elegant residence west of the Blue Ridge, and still stands, preserved in good condition.

82) “Lord Fairfax von Virginien,” historische Skizze von Andreas Simon in “Der Westen,” Chicago, 1892.

The Hite family soon gained high respect and compromised close relationship with the most respected Anglo-Americans. The widow of Jacob Hite, for example, was a sister of Col. J. Madison of Orange county, and the aunt of James Madison, President of the United States.

Quite a large number of Quakers or Friends settled on Opequon and held regular meetings here as early as 1738. Kercheval reports: "An enterprising Quaker by name of Ross, obtained a warrant for surveying 40,000 acres of land along Opequon, north of Winchester and up to Apple-pie-ridge," and their numbers constantly increased.

German settlements were also established in the upper valley. In 1733 Jacob Stauffer or Stover, an enterprising German, as Kercheval calls him, received a land grant of 5000 acres on the south branch of the Gerando or Shenandoah river. Tradition says that in order not to forfeit his claim, Stauffer represented every animal that he possessed as a settler and as the head of a family, giving a name to each of them. On his land he laid out Staufferstadt, afterwards renamed through the influence of two inhabitants born in Alsace, Anton and Philip Mueller: Strasburgh. — Shenandoah and Rockingham counties were prematurely settled by Germans from Pennsylvania, who were joined by trans-atlantic immigrants⁸³) of the same nationality. They adhered to their vernacular dialect and simplicity of manners, still retained in some families. In the counties of Warren, Page, and Augusta the German element was also largely represented from the beginning. Prof. M. F. Maury of the Virginia Military Institute says⁸⁴): "This county, Augusta, as well as Rockingham, Shenandoah and Frederick, was settled up in a great measure by Germans, and the population has retained its German character." — One of the first settlers of Page county was a German named Ruffner, whose descendants will be mentioned repeatedly in this history. Dr. W. H. Ruffner, who was the first State School Superintendent

83.) "Virginia: Her Past, Present and Future," by Samuel M. Janney. Rep. of the Commissioner of Agriculture for 1864, page 27. Washington, 1865.

84.) "Physical Survey of Virginia," by Prof. M. F. Maury, page 121. Richmond, Va., 1878.

of Virginia and his son A. H. Ruffner at Lexington, Va., informed the author: "That the first Ruffner came to Virginia a hundred and fifty years ago and owned a large tract of land on the Hawksbill creek, near Luray. According to the family history he was the son of a German baron who lived in Hanover." The name of this pioneer is commemorated in "Ruffner's Cave," in close neighborhood to the famous Luray Cave.—Wm. Millars founded a settlement on South Fork, above Front Royal, in Warren county. Many other German pioneers found homes in the Valley, as the Schmuckers from Michelstadt in the Odenwald, Jaeckly, Jung, Bender, F. Huber, Becker (changed to Baker), Westerhoefer, Kunz, Sauer (changed to Sower), von Weber, Casselmann, Hott, Fink, Funkhauser, Moler, Weier (Bernhard Weier or Wyer, a hunter, discovered in 1804 the beautiful Wyer's Cave), and the Koiners from Winterlingen in Wuerttemberg. "Koiner's Church" is the oldest Lutheran meeting house in the valley and was built by Kaspar Koiner (originally Keinadt or Kunath), Martin Busch and Jacob Barger (Berger). Michael Koinath and his wife, Margarethe, né Diller, are the ancestors of the well-known Koiner family in America and both are buried in the little grave-yard at Koiner's church. Some of their descendants settled in Augusta county and several of them attained high honors in civil service and in times of war. The name Keinadt or Kunath has been anglicized in many different ways,—there are in Virginia: Koiner, Koyner, Coyner, Coiner, Kiner, Cuyner and Cyner. This disfiguration of German names makes it very difficult to prove the German origin of many families. In Frederick county, for instance, the Kloess family was settled, that changed the name to Glaize, and Peter Kuntz of Winchester called himself Coontz.

Several German immigrants crossed the Alleghanies and built their cabins on the New, Greenbrier and Kanawha rivers. The insecurity of titles in the lower valley was the motive prompting them to select so distant homesteads. A large portion of north-eastern Virginia was claimed by Lord Fairfax, as has been stated. In 1681 a grant had been made to Lord Hopton and others by King Charles II of what is known as the "Northern Neck." The patentees sold it to Lord Culpepper, to whom it was

confirmed by letters patent of King James II in 1688. This enormous land grant, which was afterwards known as the "Fairfax Patent," included all the territory "bounded by and within the heads of the rivers Tappahannock, *i. e.* Rappahannock, and Quirriough, *i. e.* Potomac river, the course of said rivers as they are commonly called and known by the inhabitants, and description of their parts and Chesapeake Bay," — and it descended from Lord Culpepper to his only daughter, Catherine, who married one Lord Fairfax, from whom it entailed upon their eldest son, Thomas. Lord Thomas Fairfax came to Virginia in 1745, and in 1748 he employed George Washington, then seventeen years of age, to survey and lay out into lots the part of the estate situated in the Valley and Alleghany mountains, that the proprietor might collect rents and give legal titles. About thirteen miles southeast of Frederickstown, as Winchester was called at that time, the Lord built his residence: "Greenway Court," where he lived until his death in 1782. Leaving no issue to inherit his vast estate, he bequeathed it to Rev. Denny Martin, his nephew in England, who left it by will to General Philip Martin. Finally the title of the Fairfax lands was purchased by Chief Justice Marshall, Raleigh Colston and General Henry Lee. Thus the settlement of the Valley was influenced by excitement caused through the lawsuit of Lord Fairfax against Joist Hite in 1736, as has been stated, and the suit continued in the Courts until 1786, when every one of the original parties to it were resting in their graves.⁸⁵⁻⁸⁷).

Andreas Simon says in his historical sketch: "Lord Fairfax of Virginia": "How kindly in other respects Lord Fairfax was inclined towards his German neighbors is clearly shown by the fact, that he presented on May 15th, 1753, the 'German Reformed Congregation,' which had been organized about twelve years previously in the environs of Winchester, with a lot for building a church, and that he made a like donation to the

85) "Historical Collections of Virginia," by Henry Howe, page 235 Charleston, S. C., 1849.

86) "History of the Valley of Virginia," by Sam Kercheval, pp 138-140. Woodstock, Va., 1850.

87.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, pp. 60-62. Philadelphia, Pa., 1889.

German Lutherans of the town. The crumbled walls of a small church near Kernstown are still shown to visitors as the ruins of the first named building. The deed of gift drawn up in this case gives the names of Philip Busch, Heinrich Brinker, Daniel Busch, Jacob Sauer and Friedrich Conrad. The parson who first preached in the little church, built of logs, was Rev. Bernhard Wille. The Lutheran Congregation built on the donated land a new church building, the cornerstone of which was laid on June 16th, 1764. In Norris' "History of the lower Valley" the following names are given as the founders and members of the church: Thomas Schmidt, Nicholas Schrack, Christian Heiskell, David Dieterich, Christoph Wetzell, Peter Holferstein, Georg Michael Laubinger, Heinrich Becker, Jacob Sibert, Jacob Braun, Stephan Frainecker, Christoph Altrich, Tobias Otto, Eberhard Doring, Andreas Friedle, Emanuel Burger, Christoph Heintz, Donald Heigel, Jacob Trautwein, John Sigmund Haenli, Johannes Laemmle, Johannes Leutz, Christian Neuberger, Georg Schumacher, Michael Roger, Michael Waring, Christoph Lamber, Samuel Wendel, Michael Gluck, Julius Spickert, Balthasar Poe, Jacob Koppenhaber and Heinrich Weller. Johannes Caspar Kirchner at that time had charge of the ministry of the community, Ludwig Adam was the sacristan and Anton Ludi the schoolmaster. Rev. Christian Streit was appointed parson in the year 1785 and continued in this capacity until his death in 1812. As long as he preached in German a German parochial school existed. Lord Fairfax supported all the various churches in the Valley and was a regular visitor of the Episcopal church at Winchester and of Cunningham's Chapel. Rev. Sebastian, a Pennsylvanian German, was rector of the church from 1766 to 1777, when he followed the example of his colleague, the Rev. Muehlenberg of Muellerstadt, or Woodstock, and exchanged the robe for the uniform to fight for American liberty.

The German Lutheran church at Woodstock was a rough log building, but during the time of office of the Rev. Muehlenberg a large and pretty church was erected. Abraham Brumbacher made a present of the lot and by deed of gift transferred it to Abraham Keller, Lorenz Schnapp, Georg Feller, Jacob Holzmann, Friedrich Staufer, Philip Hoffmann, Heinrich Froe-

bel (Fravel), Henry Nelson, Burr Harrison, T. Beale and Joseph Pugh. Other German Lutherans came to the Valley during the life of Lord Fairfax, like Peter Mauck, Johann Friedrich, V. Helm, Johann Georg Dellenauer, Philip Glass, Jacob Beck, August and Valentin Windel, Christoph Windel, Johann Hermann, Heinrich Mueller, Philip and Michael Bauscher, Hugo Paul, Johann Sturmman, Simon Linder, Jacob Christmann, etc.

It has been stated that most of the German immigrants to Virginia were prompted by religious reasons, — but it is very difficult to give at the present time a complete description of their church organizations and their numbers. The political issues, the Anglo-American naturalization and lack of a high national self-esteem are the causes that the descendants of the German settlers have retained little knowledge or recollection of the merits of their forefathers. The German Lutherans, Mennonites, Calvinists, Dunkards, etc., forced their way up the Valley and furnished a high percentage of the population of Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke, Craig, Montgomery, Pulaski and Wythe counties. In the four last mentioned counties they met with the Swiss who emigrated from North Carolina. Capt. R. B. Moorman, of Roanoke, wrote the author: "Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke, Craig, Montgomery and Pulaski present a grateful field to the German-American historian." — German churches existed at the close of the eighteenth century at: Wheeling, Shepherdstown, Winchester, Kernstown, New Market, Strasburgh, Woodstock and in Augusta, Botetourt, Roanoke, Pulaski and Wythe counties. Salem, in Roanoke, was for a long time the exclusive domain of the Lutherans. Quite a number of German churches, chapels and meeting houses, — especially of Dunkards, — probably existed in the remote valleys of the mountains.

The most reliable information we possess about the Lutheran congregations in the Valley. Kercheval, the historian of the Valley, says: "The number of the Lutheran congregations is said to be at least one hundred; that of the Reformed, it is presumed, is about the same." — The first Lutheran parson at New Mecklenburg, or Shepherdstown, was Rev. Bauer, in the year 1776, and his successors were: Reverends Wiltbahn, Nicodemus, Georg Jung, and Weymann. The community after-

wards was joined with that of Rev. Christ. Streit, of Winchester, who was the first native Lutheran minister in America.⁸⁸⁾ The Lutheran congregation at Woodstock remained, after the Rev. Muehlenberg joined the army, without a permanent pastor, but was visited at times by pastors from other towns, as, for instance, in the spring of 1775 by Heinrich Moeller, in the fall of 1776 by C. F. Wiltbahn, in 1786 by Jacob Goering, from York, Pa., and by his brother-in-law, the Rev. I. D. Kurtz, in 1792 by Christian Streit, of Winchester, and 1793 by J. D. Jung, of Martinsburg. Other reverends may have preached to them during the following years, until in 1806 Samuel Simon Schmucker was elected pastor and remained in his office for forty years. He delivered his sermons solely in the Pennsylvanian German dialect, but with his successor, I. F. Campbell, the English language was introduced. The following are the names of the pastors to the present day: J. P. Cline (Klein), S. Keller, J. A. Snyder, H. Miller, and A. A. J. Bushong.— The New Market parish was administered by descendants of the first German preacher in Virginia: Gerhard Henkel, of Germanna. The names of the pastors are: Paul Henkel, Ambrosius Henkel, David Henkel, and Socrates Henkel. In a later chapter of this history some publications of Ambrosius, Paul and Socrates Henkel will receive special mention. In the year 1793 Dr. Georg Daniel Flohr came to Virginia, and resigning his medical studies, he devoted himself, under the tutorship of Rev. Carpenter at Madison, to theology. Dr. Flohr⁸⁹⁾ afterwards acted as pastor among the German settlements on New River and particularly at the Swiss colony at New Bern, Pulaski county. In the adjoining county of Wythe a German Lutheran church was sustained at Wytheville, which was established⁹⁰⁾ in 1792 on land donated by Stophel Zimmermann and John Davis, and was jointly owned by the Lutheran and the Reformed congregations.

The "Wytheville Dispatch" of April 9th, 1897; contains an

88.) "Church Growth in America," by Rev. J. E. Bushnell, Roanoke, Va., from the Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1888.

89.) "The American Lutheran Pulpit," pp. 121 to 122.

90.) "Historical Collections of Virginia," by Henry Howe, p. 514 Charleston, S. C. 1849.

historical article written by Rev. Alex. Phillippi, D.D., and published by request of the Lutheran Pastor's Association of Wythe County. Rev. Phillippi reports: "After 1732, the Germans, mostly from Pennsylvania, came in considerable numbers to the lower Valley of Virginia and slowly extended themselves into the south-western part of the State, so that at the time of the outbreaking of the Revolutionary War, several considerable settlements had been formed in what is now Wythe and adjoining counties. These settlements, after the close of the war, received numerous additions from Pennsylvania, Maryland and the lower valley of Virginia. The early Germans who came to Wythe County, with few exceptions, had some means, and were a hardy, industrious, moral, intelligent, Christian people. The Bibles, some very costly and beautiful copies, which they brought with them, are still found in possession of their posterity, with many other useful and religious books, had a place in almost every family. Schoolhouses, which for the time were also used as places of public worship, were among the first and most expensive buildings erected. With few exceptions these people were Protestants, nearly equally divided between the Lutheran and the German Reformed Churches. For reasons not fully understood at this day, these colonists failed to secure and bring with them into their new homes pious and capable pastors and teachers, — and for twenty-five or more years religion and education were not only greatly neglected in these feeble and scattered communities by incapable and immoral, godless leaders." — Rev. Phillippi also mentions that German Lutheran churches were established: one mile north of Wytheville the St. John's Lutheran church and twelve miles west St. Paul's church, — and that in 1796 Rev. Leonard Willy became pastor between Cedar Grove, of Smyth County, Kimberling, St. Paul's and St. John's congregations of Wythe County. — In 1799 Rev. George Flohr, before mentioned, accepted a call to the Lutheran churches in south-west Virginia and located several miles north of Wytheville. His ministry ended with his death in 1826 and his remains lie buried in St. John's cemetery.

According to Prof. O. Seidensticker⁹¹⁾ some faithless mem-

91) "Ephrata," — eine amerikanische Klostergeschichte von Dr. Oswald Seidensticker. Cincinnati, 1883

bers of the German convent "Ephrata" in Pennsylvania, organized by the sect of the Siebentaeger or Beisselianer, a kind of Dunkards, left in the year 1745 and founded a settlement on New River which they named "Mahanaim." Repeated attacks of the Indians obliged the settlers to flee,—some were carried away prisoners by the savages — and all traces of Mahanaim are lost. A number of fugitive lay-brothers selected the beautiful Shenandoah valley for their home, but it appears they were not pleased with it. In a letter published in the eighteenth century by Leibert and Billmeyer at Germantown, Pa., Peter Blaeser complains to his friend, the printer Mich. Billmeyer, that he and others, on account of their virtuous habits of life, are called by the nickname "Strabler," and a German verse sounds thus :

"Der Koth in Virginia den Satan gehecket,
Damit er die Stillen im Land hat beflecket,
Hat dort her ein Stueck in Cacusa geschmissen
Allwo er noch greulich thut stinken und fliessen."

Their monastic life and peculiar habits probably excited the displeasure and criticism of their neighbors, causing their own dissatisfaction.

Several Germans, it has been stated, penetrated into the wild regions of the Alleghanies. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century about twelve miles west of Franklin, in Pendleton county, the frontier fort "Seybert" was erected, which was attacked by a party of Shawnees under their vile chief "Kill-buck" in May 1758⁹²), when garrisoned by only thirty or forty men. The following account of the affair is given by De Hass: "Finding neither threatening words nor bullets of any avail, the cunning savages, after two days' trial, resorted to strategy and unhappily with most fatal success. They made various propositions to the besieged to give up, and their lives should be spared. — The promise of safety lured the unfortunate victims from their duty, they yielded quiet possession of the fort, but of their number all were massacred but eleven, who were carried to the Indian town as prisoners." — Kercheval states that Capt. Seybert was murdered by Kill-buck imme-

92.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, pp 566 to 567. Phila, 1889

diately after the surrender and that his son was among those carried away prisoners. — Among those who first attempted a settlement within the present limits of Tucker county in 1776 was one Simms, who was also killed by the Indians. — Many German families counted to the pioneers of Pocahontas county, like the Harpers, Grines, Sharp, etc., and Peter Lightner, who built the first mill on Knapp's Creek. — It is of special interest that the first owner of the lands of White Sulphur Springs in Greenbrier county probably was a German. During the year 1774 the Shawnees, the predominant tribe of western Virginia, were gradually subdued by the ever encroaching colonists from eastern Virginia, and having suffered a signal defeat at Point Pleasant, they began to abandon the country, but not entirely, for by frequent marauding parties with tomahawk and scalping knife they fully attested their attachment to their ancient hunting-grounds. It has been before mentioned that the family Zimmermann at Madison changed its name to "Carpenter," and that several of its members migrated again farther west and to Kentucky. The road they travelled was the same which was afterwards chosen for the construction of the "Stage-road" to the Kanawha and Ohio rivers, and it traversed the territory of the famous Sulphur Springs. One, Nathan Carpenter,⁹³⁾ came there in 1774 and selected the charming valley of White Sulphur Springs for his home. It was patented to him under what is called a "Corn Right;" but a band of marauding Indians forced him and other settlers to retreat to a stockade fort, where the town of Covington now stands, and during a fight with the savages he was killed. His wife Kate and their children took refuge for some time in a neighboring mountain, overlooking the springs from the south, which ever since has been called Kate's Mountain.

At the same period a German Hebrew immigration party settled in the western parts of Virginia⁹⁴⁾. The numerous Sephardic and Portuguese Jewish element in the Old Dominion was now gradually surpassed by the German, and a new era in

93) "White Sulphur Springs in Greenbrier County," p. 9. A. Hoen & Co, Baltimore, Md.

94) "Materialien zur Geschichte der Juden in America," von S. Wiener, Belletristisches Journal, p. 11. New York, January 8th, 1891.

the development of Jewish life commenced. A great number of Jews at that time came from Lancaster, Pa., and built up their homes on the fertile lands near the Ohio river. — Other German colonists also came to this section of Virginia. The Deckers were the first white settlers near Morgantown, in Monongahela county, W. Va., of those days. Alexander Withers reports in his "Chronicles of Border Warfare," that in the autumn of 1758 Thomas Decker and some others built their cabins on the Monongahela where Decker's Creek joins this river, — but that he was murdered by the Indians in 1759. Soon afterwards other German immigrants came and Michael Kerns was one of the founders of Morgantown. John Decker was the last white man killed by an Indian in Brooke county; W. Boner, E. Rittenhouse, M. Decker, Capt. van Buskirk, etc., counted to the early colonists. John Wetzel, the Siverts, Earlywines, Tush, Capt. Baker, Col. Beeler, etc., domiciled in Marshall county in 1769, and are all well known on account of their bravery and sufferings during the Indian war.

The German immigrants also crossed the Blue Ridge and settled in Loudoun, Fairfax, Prince William, Stafford, Fauquier, Rappahannock and Culpepper counties, where they met with their countrymen come there from the South. Confirming this emigration from the Valley to Middle Virginia, Col. Thomas Whitehead, Commissioner of Agriculture in Virginia, says⁹⁵): "Let Virginia distribute her population. Let those who have none, or very small tracts, in the Valley and Piedmont, go to the Southside and Middle Virginia, and they will succeed, *as did the Tunkers*, who went from the Valley — selling at high prices — to Prince William, where they bought low, and are improving and making former waste fields to blossom. Facts to sustain this position are in possession of this department."

The habits and the mode of life of the German pioneers in the Virginia mountains were simple and modest. Their style of living and their industry were the causes of their prosperity and enlarged wealth. Another circumstance added to their success. "We see in the population only a small infusion of the

95) "Report of the State Board of Agriculture of Va." p. 142. Richmond, Va., 1888.

old Virginia element," — states an official document⁹⁶⁾ — "being composed chiefly of Germans and Scotch-Irish, — naturally this is the most fertile region of the State, and *as it was only partially subjected to the blighting influence of slavery, it has ever been the most prosperous.*" — It is proven by facts, that the *German* farmers in the Valley and the Alleghanies, with few exceptions, owned *no slaves*. The majority of them, especially the Mennonites, Tunkers and Quakers, considered slavery inhuman and displeasing the Lord, and mainly the English were slaveholders. The above mentioned document bears therefore honorable testimony to the German farmers of the Valley and mountains of Virginia. On account of the notorious antipathy of the Germans towards slavery, the number of negroes has always been smaller there than in other parts of the State. According to statistical reports, in 1877, the negro population in the Alleghany district amounted to only seven per cent., in the Valley to sixteen per cent., but in the Piedmont and Coast district from forty-seven to fifty-one per cent. of the total population.

Another reason why the German farmers prospered more than their English neighbors, was that they did not care to possess excessively large estates, but farms comparatively small, — just large enough that an active farmer could with the assistance of his family work them well. On their acres, thus carefully tilled and manured, they raised better and larger crops, than the Anglo-American planters on their plantations of thousands of acres with the help of negro labor. The culture of these vast estates often was carried to the point of exhaustion. The Handbook of Virginia⁹⁷⁾ very correctly says of the German farmers of the last century: "These people brought with them their frugal habits, their conservative systems and modes of farm management, which served to keep it what nature made it to be, one of the most desirable tracts of country in the United States." This statement is confirmed, too, in the reports of Dr. Johann David Schoepf in his description of Virginia a hundred years ago. He says: "They distinguish themselves by

96.) "Status of Virginia Agriculture in 1870,"—U. S. Report of Agriculture for 1870, pp. 271 to 272. Washington, 1871

97.) "Handbook of Virginia," Fifth Edition, p. 110. Richmond, Va., 1886.

their diligence and steadiness. Their fellow-citizens concede that they possess these merits, — but only few are inclined to follow their example.”

Concerning the customs and mode of life of the German colonists, Kercheval gives the following interesting details.⁹⁸)

“The first houses erected were log cabins, with covers of split clapboards, and weight-poles to keep them in place. There were, however, a few framed and stone buildings erected previous to the war of the revolution. As the country improved in population and wealth, there was a corresponding improvement in the erection of buildings. When this improvement commenced, the most general mode of building was with hewn logs, a shingle roof and plank floor, the plank cut out with the whip-saw. Before the erection of saw-mills, all the plank used was worked out in this way. The timber intended to be sawed was first squared with the broad-ax, and then raised on a scaffold six or seven feet high. Two able-bodied men then took hold of the saw, one standing on top of the log and the other under it. The labor was excessively fatiguing and about 100 feet of plank or scantling was considered a good day’s work for two hands. — The dress of the early settlers was of the plainest materials, generally of their own manufacture. Previous to the war of the revolution, the married men generally shaved their heads, and either wore wigs or white linen caps. When the war commenced, this fashion was laid aside, for wigs could not easily be obtained, nor white linen for caps. The men’s coats were generally made with broad backs and straight short skirts, with pockets on the outside having large flaps. The waistcoats had skirts nearly half-way down to the knees and very broad pocket flaps. The breeches were so short as barely to reach the knee, with a band surrounding the knee, fastened with either brass or silver buckles. The stocking was drawn up under the knee-band and tied with a garter (generally red or blue) below the knee, so as to be seen. The shoes were of coarse leather, with straps to the quarters, and fastened with either brass or silver buckles. The hat was either of wool or fur, with a round crown not exceeding three or four inches high, with a broad brim. The

8) “History of the Valley,” by S. Kercheval, pp 203—208 Winchester, Va , 1833.

dress for the neck was usually a narrow collar to the shirt, with a white linen stock drawn together at the ends, on the back of the neck, with a broad metal buckle. The more wealthy and fashionable were sometimes seen with their stock, knee and shoe buckles set either in gold or silver with brilliant stones. — The female dress was generally the short gown and petticoat, made of the plainest materials. The German women mostly wore tight calico caps on their heads, and in the summer season they were generally seen with no other clothing than a linen shift and petticoat — the feet, hands and arms bare. In hay and harvest time they joined the men in the labor of the meadow and grain fields. Many females were most expert mowers and reapers. — The natural result of this kind of rural life was, to produce a hardy and vigorous race of people. It was this race of people who had to meet and breast the various Indian wars and the storms of the revolution. The Dutchman's barn was usually the best building on his farm. He was sure to erect a fine large barn, before he built any other dwelling house than his rude log cabin. There were none of our primitive immigrants more uniform in the form of their buildings than the Germans. Their dwelling houses were seldom raised more than a single story in height, with a large cellar beneath; the chimney in the middle, with a very wide fire-place in one end of the kitchen, in the other end a stove-room. Their furniture was of the simplest and plainest kind; and there was always a long pine table fixed in one corner of the stove-room, with permanent benches on one side. On the upper floor garners for holding grain were very common. Their beds were generally filled with straw or chaff, with a fine feather bed for covering in the winter. Many of the Germans have what they call a drum, through which the stove-pipe passes in their upper rooms. It is made of sheet-iron, something in the shape of a military drum. It soon fills with heat from the pipe, by which the rooms become agreeably warm in the coldest weather. A piazza is a very common appendage to a Dutchman's dwelling house, in which his saddles, bridles, and very frequently his wagon or plow harness, are hung up. The Germans erect stables for their domestic animals of every species: even their swine are housed in the winter season. Their barns and stables are well stored with provender,

particularly fine hay: hence their quadrupeds of all kinds are kept throughout the year in the finest possible order. The German women, many of them are remarkably neat housekeepers. There are some of them, however, extremely slovenly, and their dwellings are kept in the worst possible condition. The Germans are remarkable for their fine bread, milk and butter. They consume in their diet less animal flesh, and of course, more vegetables, milk and butter, than most other people. Their "Sour Krout" in winter constitutes a considerable part of their living. They generally consume less and sell more of the product of their labor, than any other class of citizens. A Dutchman is proverbial for his patient perseverance in his domestic labors. Their farms are generally small and nicely cultivated. In all his agricultural pursuits his meadows demand his greatest care and attention. His little farm is laid off in fields not exceeding 10 to 12 acres each. It is rarely seen that a Dutchman will cultivate more than about 10—12 acres of Indian Corn any one year. They are of opinion that the corn crop is a great exhauster of the soil and they make but little use of corn for any other purpose than feeding and fattening their swine."

Kercheval also relates (pp. 79—80): "With few exceptions, they strictly inhibited their children from joining in the dance or other juvenile amusements common to the Germans. — In their marriages much ceremony was observed and great preparations made. Fatted calves, lambs, poultry, the finest of bread, butter, milk, honey, domestic sugar, wine, if it could be had, with every article necessary for a sumptuous feast in their plain way, were prepared in abundance. Previous to the performance of the ceremony (the clergyman attending at the place appointed for the marriage), four of the most respectable young females and four of the most respectable young men were selected as waiters upon the bride and groom. The several waiters were decorated with badges, to indicate their offices. The groomsmen, as they were termed, were invariably furnished with fine white aprons beautifully embroidered. It was deemed a high honor to wear the apron. The duty of the waiters consisted in not only waiting on the bride and groom, but they were required, after the marriage ceremony was performed, to serve up the wedding dinner, and to guard and protect the

bride while at dinner from having her shoe stolen from her foot. To succeed in it, the greatest dexterity was used by the younger part of the company, while equal vigilance was manifested by the waiters to defend her against the theft; and if they failed, they were in honor bound to pay a penalty for the redemption of the shoe. This penalty was a bottle of wine, or one dollar, — and as a punishment to the bride, she was not permitted to dance until the shoe was restored. The successful thief, on getting hold of the shoe, held it up in great triumph to the view of the whole assemblage, which was generally pretty numerous. This custom was continued among the Germans from generation to generation, until since the war of revolution.”

In consequence of the growing prosperity of the German colonists, a number of towns and villages, as stated before, were founded, and to this day many names of inhabited places, rivers and mountains recall to memory the times of the German pioneers. The following review of the German foundations during the eighteenth century bears evidence of the share they have taken in establishing the welfare of the State.

In the year 1737 some German families settled, as has been reported, where soon after *Frederickstown* or *Winchester*, as it is now called, was laid out. *Stephansburg* in Frederick county, now *Stephensburg*, was founded by Peter Stephan in 1758, who with Justus Heid came to Virginia in 1732. *Kernstown* was built on the land of Adam Kern. *Staufferstadt* or *Strasburgh*, in Shenandoah county, derived its original name from its founder, Peter Stauffee, or Stover, who laid it out in 1761. In the same year Jacob Mueller established *Muellerstown*, which was afterwards called *Woodstock*. Its founder laid out 196 lots on 1200 acres of land, and every one of these lots was purchased by Germans. *Shepherdstown*, formerly *Mecklenburg*, in what is now Jefferson county in West Virginia, is the oldest German town in this part of the Valley; it was incorporated in 1762 and inhabited by German tradesmen. *Harpers Ferry*, also in Jefferson county and famous in history as the scene of John Brown's Insurrection, commemorates the name of a German, Robert Harper, who settled near by in 1734. — *Wheeling*, in

Ohio county, was first laid out in 1770 in town lots by Col. Ebenezer Zane and 1795 it was made a town by act of the Assembly. *West Liberty*, also in Ohio county, was established by legislative enactment in 1787 on the lands of Reuben Foreman. — From Christian Peter, who came to Monroe county, now West Virginia, in 1770, the village *Peterstown* takes its name and also the mountain range which now forms the dividing line between the Old Dominion and West Virginia. — *Martinsburg*, the present county seat of Berkeley, W. Va., was made a town in 1778 on the lands of General Adam Stephan, Stephen, or anglicized Steven, — and *Darkesville*, in the same county, commemorates the name of the brave General W. Darke, the son of Pennsylvanian German parents. Other places which have been founded chiefly by Germans are: *Lexington*, Rockbridge county, in 1777, — *Amsterdam*, Botetourt county, by Pennsylvanian German Tunkers, — *Harrisonburg*, Rockingham county, 1780, — *Lewisburg*, Greenbrier county, 1782, — *Clarksburg*, Harrison county, 1785, — *Charlestown*, Kanawha county, 1786, — *Frankfurt*, in Hampshire county, 1787, by John Schloss, J. Adler, H. Whitemann, Jacob Brockhardt and other Germans, — *Middletown*, now Gerrardstown, in honor of David Gerrard, (*i. e.* Gerhard) in 1787, — in 1788 *Front Royal*, in Frederick county, by S. Vanmeter, H. Front, Th. Hant, etc., — *Beverly*, in Randolph county, in 1790, on the lands of Jacob Westfall, — in 1791 *Keisletown*, formerly *Kieselstadt*, Rockingham county, — *Berryville*, in Clarke county, by Benj. Berry and S. Strebling in 1798. The county of *Alexandria*, with the city of the same name, belonged to the estates of Lord Fairfax, and promised to become an important harbor and trading place before the Capital of the Union — Washington city — was founded on the opposite shore of the Potomac. At Alexandria the river is more than one mile wide and at the landing place thirty feet deep. It is not certain how many Germans participated in the founding of the city, but Dr. Julius Dienelt, of Alexandria, informed the author of this book, that he found in the County Records the following German names: Peter Wagener, county clerk from 1776 to 1797, and within the period from 1787 to 1794: Michael Steiber, Michael Gerther, Johann Hess, Georg Christian Otto, Johann Schneider, Wilhelm Bocher, Tobias Zimmermann, Josias

Spier, Adam Ebert, Adam Faizer, Joh. Christ. Kempff, Th. Hederich, Jac. Beltinger, and Joseph Thomas.

This list of places established by Germans, or chiefly with their assistance, is incomplete; it gives only a number of examples with special reference to the Valley, and the reader is referred to two other lists in Volume II, chapters thirteen and sixteen.

The two German mass-immigrations to Middle Virginia and to the north-western mountain region differ essentially in one feature. The settlers on the Rappahannock river and in Piedmont, at the time of Governor Spotswood, stood at first in a serviceable dependency, until they secured independence and property, — but the German colonists of the Valley and Alleghany mountains were wealthy people and purchased lands, and those who came from Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York brought practical experience in pioneer-work with them. The poor German immigrants, mostly farm-hands and craftsmen, who had bound themselves to serve for the amount of their travelling expenses to America, were landed in large numbers at Philadelphia and New York, but showed little willingness to hire out to southern slave-holders. Dr. Schoepf says about them: "They possess too much pride to work with and among the negroes, who in Virginia and the Carolinas are almost exclusively the only laborers."

This disinclination to be placed on one level with the colored people has kept away to the present day white laborers,—especially those of German nationality,—from the southern States. "We do not want to be treated like negroes, to work for low negro-wages and to be reduced to negro rations of corn and bacon," — these are the arguments which white laborers still use to justify their prejudice against the South.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR AND INDIAN DEVASTATIONS.

THE development of the German settlements in Virginia was much impeded by the growing difficulties and quarrels between the French and English in regard to the boundaries of their colonies. The English, in 1750, actually occupied only a narrow strip along the coast of the Atlantic, about 1000 miles in length, but they claimed all land from New Foundland to Florida as having been discovered by the Cabots. The French territory extended around the English colonies, from Quebec to New Orleans and upward to the great lakes, supported by a cordon of forts. The French based their claim on the ground of the exploration of this vast territory by French travellers. Both nations claimed the region west of the Alleghany mountains, along the Ohio river, and this was the cause of the great struggle, known in history as the French and Indian War. The rights of the natives on the land of their ancestors were completely ignored by both contestants. A grant made by the English crown, in 1749, of 800,000 acres on the Ohio to the Ohio Company, brought matters to a crisis. The enraged Indians sent to the agent of the Ohio Company the pertinent query: "Where is the land of the Indians? The English claim all on one side of the river, the French all on the other, where does our land lie?" — The French erected new forts in the northwest of Pennsylvania and took possession of an English post in what is now western Ohio, and carried the garrison off prisoners. Unfortunately the English did not understand to gain the friendship of the natives, consequently most of the

Indian tribes united with the French, — and suddenly fell upon the exposed German settlements along the Ohio, committing acts of horrible cruelty.

The King of England had granted the Ohio Company the aforesaid privilege for the purpose of planting settlers beyond the Alleghanies — and to monopolize the fur-trade, and soon the Company aimed to extend its traffic eastward into the country of the "Six Nations." German men were entrusted with the important and dangerous mission to negotiate with the Indians and to conclude treaties with them.

In 1748 the savages threatened to invade the settlements and *Konrad Weiser* was sent to Logstown to appease them by exhortations and presents.⁹⁹⁾ — "The two Weisers, father and son," says Friedrich Kapp¹⁰⁰⁾, figure among the most illustrious Germans who came to America during the last century." — Johann Konrad Weiser, the father, was born at Grossaspach in Wuerttemberg, and arrived at New York in 1710, with the influx of the emigrants from the Palatinate. He remained up to his death in 1746 the leader and defender of the German settlers in the Shoharie Valley against the corrupt and extorting English officials. His son Konrad was only fourteen years old when he landed at New York, and after his father had settled in the Shoharie Valley, he was given in charge of the Indian chief Quagnant, who was a friend of Weiser, Sr. — Living among and with the natives Konrad became acquainted with the Indian languages, the customs and the way of reasoning of the children of the wilderness. This knowledge of the character, the idiom, and the mode of viewing things of the Indians, afterwards made Weiser the sought for adviser and mediator of the two races — and the natives esteemed him as a justly reliable friend. He came in 1737, upon the request of Governor Gooch, for the first time to Virginia, to undertake the difficult mission to arrange an armistice with the chiefs of the "Six Nations," and finally a defensive alliance with the Cherokee and Catawbas. Not less important was his mission to Logstown in

99.) "In der neuen Heimath," Seite 231, von Anton Eikhoff. New-York, 1884.

100.) "Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New-York," von Friedrich Kapp, — Seite 134. New-York, 1863.

1748, to which we already referred. On his journey he had to travel through a wilderness full of perils, over rough mountains to the Ohio and then to Logstown: to confer with the enraged Indians, to persuade them not to unite with the French, and at the same time to gather full particulars as to the strength and position of the French forces and fortifications. He succeeded well with his hazardous mission. Friedrich Kapp¹⁰¹⁾ states: "The personal knowledge of the situation of things on the Ohio and in the western portion of the English settlements Weiser used six years later in Albany to great advantages, where the deputies of seven colonies had a conference with the chiefs of the "Six Nations," purposing to form an alliance against the French. It was one of the most important periods in the history of the colonies; it was the time of the beginning of the French war, and the first cooperation of the colonies, hitherto acting separately and frequently in discord. The colonists desired to secure the alliance of the Indians and to this end tried to convince them that the French had committed numerous encroachments in the Ohio valley and the western Indian territories. Among other speakers Vice-Governor de Lancey, of New York, addressed the savages and in the course of his speech remarked: "It is very lucky that Mr. Weiser, who has arranged matters with your nations in Virginia and Pennsylvania and who is also thoroughly acquainted with the whole situation, is present. Listen to his statements which will throw full light on all the difficulties." Then Weiser stepped forward and in the Mohawk language gave a detailed description of the outrages and intrusions in the Ohio valley committed by the French, and known to him as an eye-witness. His address made a deep impression on the Indian chiefs — and in a few days an alliance was arranged between the English and the Six Nations.

Although Konrad Weiser never made Virginia his permanent home, he rendered to it such eminent services, that his name deserves a prominent place in the history of the Old Dominion.

101.) "Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New-York," von Friedrich Kapp,— Seite 140—141. New-York, 1868.

In 1751 *Christopher Gist, Geist or Guest*¹⁰²), another distinguished German of Frederick, Virginia, was appointed agent of the Ohio Company. He was despatched to the *Tuig-tuis* Indians, living near the present Piquia in Ohio, to secure their partisanship for the Virginia cause. Gist's travels through the land north of the Ohio river lasted from October 31st, 1750, to May 1751; he then returned to Virginia to organize the settlements which the Ohio Company had projected on the Kanawha river. In 1753, when Major George Washington was entrusted by Governor Dinwiddie with the dangerous mission to the French commander on the upper Ohio to deliver a protest against his advance and to demand his withdrawal from the Ohio valley, he chose for one of his companions Christopher Gist.

The great struggle was now at hand, — Virginia prepared for war, and in 1754 the hostilities commenced. The war was waged for years with varying success. The exposed German settlements on the frontier suffered greatly by the Indian allies of the French, until France could no longer protract the struggle and by a treaty, ratified in 1763, she gave up all her American territory, including the upper Ohio region, to the English.

England and the colonies owed this victory to a great extent to an agreement concluded with the Iroquois Indians by the German *Christian Friedrich Post*, a Moravian.

“On the 25th of August” — writes Klauprecht — “the same day that England's great ally in Europe, King Frederick II of Prussia, defeated the Russians in the fierce battle of Johnsdorf, the modest champion of England, the Moravian Post, stood on the battlefield and within the range of the enemies' cannon, in full sight of Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburg) and the flying lily-banners of France, he persuaded the Indian warriors, surrounding him, to break with their allies.”

During this long war several Germans gained high military distinction. Captain *Adam Stephan* or *Stephen*, who

102.) “Geschichte des grossen amerikanischen Westens,” von H. A. Rattermann, — Seite 28. Cincinnati, 1875.

practiced medicine at Neu Mecklenburg (Shepherdstown) Va., from 1747 to 1754, organized a company of German volunteers in the vicinity of Harper's Ferry, and advanced with Washington to the West. He fought with valor in the battles at Great Meadows, Fort Necessity and General Braddock's disastrous defeat; and he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and given command of Fort Cumberland.

Colonel *Wilhelm Drake* was another German officer of fame. He had come, when a child, with his German parents to Neu Mecklenburg, and only nineteen years of age he participated in Gen. Braddock's campaign. Colonel George Washington in a report, dated Great Meadows in May 1754, also stated: that under his command there served the Ensign Carl Gustav von Splittorf and Lieutenant Edmund Wagner, who was killed in battle.

Peace was restored and the French army gone, but peaceful times did not follow. The enlarged power of the English, who now held possession of all the territory extending to the great lakes, and who now occupied the forts built by the French, the French settlers who dwelled around the northern lakes, and who were still opposed to the English rule, a large emigration of colonists to the fertile prairies of the west, excited the apprehension and fury of the Indians in the West, and nearly every tribe from New England to the western extremity of Lake Superior united in a conspiracy against the white intruders. Pontiac, the bold and sagacious chief of the Ottawas, was at the head of the united savages. On June third of 1763 the redskins simultaneously attacked the English outposts and forts, and all but Fort Pitt, Niagara and Detroit fell into their hands. The frontier settlements in Virginia and Pennsylvania were devastated and more than twenty thousand people were obliged to fly from their homes or to suffer a barbarous death. In all directions the conflagration of dwellings and crops illumined the sky.

The first of these blows,¹⁰³⁾ struck within the present limits of West Virginia, resulted in the total destruction of

103.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, page 106 Philadelphia, Pa. 1889.

the settlements in the Greenbrier valley, and within what now is Greenbrier county. All fled before the Indians and in Rockbridge county, where they had hoped to be in safety, many families were killed or taken by them. The Indians also carried destruction and death into the Shenandoah valley, especially in the present counties of Berkeley, Shenandoah and Frederick, making frequent inroads into the upper valley as far as a few miles off Staunton.

Many Germans were among the slaughtered, and indignation and despair forced the survivors to take up arms in self-defence. Among the forces that defended the western forts, not fallen into the hands of the enemy, there were also many Germans, officers as well as privates, and they assisted to check the progress of the savages to the South. Finally Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the English commander-in-chief, sent Colonel *Heinrich Bouquet* or *Henry Boquet*¹⁰⁴), a native of Switzerland, born in the German Canton Berne, to the West to raise the siege of the beleaguered forts. His troops, organized in haste, were mostly Germans from Pennsylvania and Virginia. He was a soldier born and began his military career in Sweden and later he served in the Dutch army. In 1755 he was persuaded by the English ambassador, Sir Yorke, to enter the English-American service and was appointed major of a battalion of the "Royal American Regiment," consisting mostly of Germans. He served throughout the French and Indian war — and when ordered out against Pontiac's confederates, he defeated them in the fiercely contested battle of Bushy Run in Pennsylvania, arrived at Fort Pitt in August 1764 and forced the Indians on the twelfth day of November, 1764, at the forks of the Muskingum in Ohio, to make peace and cede two hundred and six captives, ninety of whom had been carried away from Virginia.

Touching scenes are related to have occurred at the delivery of the prisoners when husband and wife, parents and children, were reunited. Anton Eikhoff¹⁰⁵) reports: "A

104) H. A. Rattermann says in "Deutscher Pionier," Vol. X, p. 217: That Heinrich Bouquet's true name was "Strauss."

105) "In der neuen Heimath," von Anton Eikhoff, Seite 247. New York, 1884.

Virginia volunteer of Bouquets' army had been robbed of his wife and a two year old child by the Indians about six months before. How delighted was the afflicted soldier, when he could again embrace his beloved wife and a baby three months old, — but the two year old child was missing. The mother could only give the information that the child had been taken from her at the time they were captured. — A few days later however a child was brought into camp and it was thought to be the missing one. The mother was called, and she did not recognize it to be her own at first sight, but on closer examination she did and shouting for joy she drew it to her heart."

With the failure of Pontiac's plot the aggressive power of the Indians was broken, but they continued to make treacherous attacks in northern Virginia.

England had risen by the success of the French and Indian War, — respectively by its "seven years' sea war" (1756 to 1763) with France and Spain, — to the most important naval and colonial power, but she had also added largely to her debt. No sooner was peace restored and the colonies beginning to recover from the calamities of war and Indian devastations, then the English Parliament determined to make them repay by taxation what had been expended in defending them. The colonies, on the other hand, had always considered the aid rendered them by the motherland as insufficient, they charged the English government to have abused them for the benefit of her merchants and manufacturers and they thought England pretty well compensated for the cost of the war by the acquisition of the French territory and Florida. The colonial policy of Great Britain was in fact unscrupulously selfish, it treated the settlers as an inferior class of people, while the English High-Church constantly aimed to reduce free religious exercise. Thus the colonists became exasperated and the idea to form a union for redress of all grievances gained popularity.

In spite of this unsettled and alarming condition of political affairs, the German immigration to Virginia did not cease, although it was less numerous than in the beginning of

the century. The following names may prove the correctness of this statement.

Adam Dutton, from Germany, settled in Wythe county and one of his sons, George Dutton, married the daughter of another German named Friedrich Copenhaver in Smith county, Henry Fleenor, also a German, was one of the first colonists in Rock Valley, — in Washington county the Pennsylvania Germans: Anton Horn, Giesler, Rodeker, Gobble, King (Koenig) and Krieger were domiciled, — and also in 1778 Jacob Hartenstine (Hartenstein), whose son, John Hartenstine, was a major in the Confederate army during the War of Secession. George Kerr immigrated into Northumberland, — Wm. Short in Surry county, George Hood (Huth) in Charles City county, Ed. Voss in Culpepper, etc. — and the names of various counties show, that the German immigration extended in all directions of the colony.

It must also be noted that George Washington esteemed the Germans highly as colonists. Having received from the English government, in acknowledgement of his services during the French and Indian war, in 1770, ten thousand acres of land south of the Ohio river, and by purchase secured a large tract of land on the Kanawha and Greenbrier rivers, he had in view to settle his estates with Germans. In February 1774 he wrote from Mt. Vernon to James Tilghman, in Philadelphia: "that motives of interest and of policy required a speedy, successful and inexpensive colonization of these lands, and that of all suggestions made to him, none promised better success: than the settlement of Germans from the Palatinate." He inquired how this plan could be carried out, and if it was advisable to send an intelligent German to Germany to invite immigrants, to control their embarkation in Holland, etc. He also addressed ship-owners like Henry Riddle in Philadelphia and offered to pay the travelling expenses to the Potomac and Ohio, to provide the settlers with victuals until a first crop had been gathered and to exempt them from payment of any rent for a period of four years if there was no house on the property at the time of taking possession of it. But these and other plans to colonize his estate were interrupted by the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE GERMAN VIRGINIANS.

NO other period in the history of old Virginia gives better evidence of the devotion and loyalty of the German Virginians to American interests than the War of Independence, — and yet on account of circumstances, entirely beyond their control, they have received comparatively little recognition. When the cry was raised: to defend the rights and liberties of the country, the German colonists did not hesitate for one moment, they left their homes, their wives and children and followed the banner of Virginia's great son, George Washington. With his illustrious name are inseparably associated those of the German heroes: Baron von Steuben, Peter Muehlenberg, von der Wieden, and others, and it is very probable that without their advice and heroism victory would not have crowned the American arms. The German soldiers of the colonial army proved brave and reliable — but, because German allied troops fought in the English army, due credit has been denied them and even their integrity has been suspected. The German subsidiary troops, — the “d . . . d Hessians,” as they were called in Virginia — were only the involuntary, unfortunate victims of an abominable bargain, which *the English King had arranged with covetous German princes*. The German colonists are in no way responsible for this agreement, they were almost unanimously in favor of American independence, while the Anglo-Virginians were divided into two parties: *Whigs* and *Tories*; the former name applied to the patriots, the latter to the supporters of the royal cause. Historians who ignore or slander

the patriotism and strong affection of the German-Americans and claim all glory for the Anglo-Americans and their French allies, are partial and therefore unjust. The German-American historian H. A. Rattermann says, with reference to the exaggerated glorification of the French merits¹⁰⁶): "Lafayette visited America again and was pleased to be carried in triumph through the United States, while the greater Steuben had to compete with many difficulties to receive the lands which Congress had promised to him, and lived without ostentation in quiet retirement in the State of New York." — Steuben and Lafayette are two figures reflecting the character of their respective nations, — the former unselfish, sacrificing everything to a grand idea, — the other also immolating, but calculating to promote his "Gloire." — The Anglo-Americans, disposed to be misled by outer show, sympathized in a demonstrative manner with Lafayette, thus wounding the feeling of their German fellow-citizens.

Twelve decades have passed since the Revolutionary War began, and it is now impossible to do full justice to the merits of the Germans of that great time. Many facts are lost and forgotten, and the anglicizing of the German element in Virginia after the war, has contributed much to create this deplorable incompleteness. But even this resignation of home-remembrances and of the language of their fathers shows, that the German Virginians were so fully devoted to the American cause: that they forgot the reverential piety they owed to their old Fatherland.

The colonies were without political connection before the Revolution. The people, originating from various nationalities, — separated by vast distances and the want of public roads for travel, — differing in habits and religion, — quarreling about the borders and titles of land, — and influenced by conflicting commercial and agricultural interests, — were only forced to combine by the tyranny and restrictions England imposed upon them. It was not a longing for republican liberty that led to the foundation of the Union, but chiefly endangered material interests. Particularly in the South the

106) "Der deutsche Pionier," Vol. VIII, Seite 18. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1876.

form of government was looked upon with much indifference, the colonists of English descent had no wish to renounce their allegiance to the British crown, and they cherished sentiments of filial devotion towards the motherland. The inclination and desires of the German population however were totally different. The German colonists were not attached to the British rulers by national ties or by gratitude for special favors, and cognizant of the sufferings and abuse that had driven their forefathers from Germany to America, they longed, in their quiet way, for political and religious freedom.

During the period from 1763 to 1775 England had imposed restraints upon the commerce and industry of the colonies, and these, with growing energy, had resisted. The British Parliament passed laws to impede the home trade and navigation of the colonies, juries were abolished, in 1764 the intention to raise a revenue from America was formally declared, and import duties were imposed on sugar, coffee, indigo, wine and silks. On March 22nd, 1765, the Stamp Act was passed, that ordained: that no written instrument should be legal unless the paper was stamped on which it was drawn, and which was to be purchased at an exorbitant price of the agents of the British government. Finally the colonists were directed to furnish to the British soldiery quarters and rations. The colonies had no representation in Parliament and claimed that taxation without representation is tyranny, and they were determined to resist any violation of their rights. King George III however said publicly: "That the obedience of the colonies would be enforced." Clouds gathered rapidly — and the storm threatened to break out. Resolutions were passed by the Colonial Assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina and Massachusetts to resist coercion.

Patrick Henry, a young lawyer, 27 years old, had gained great popularity by his arguments in a lawsuit against the clergy, known as "Parson's Cause," and by pleading on that occasion the cause of colonial rights with eminent eloquence. He was consequently elected a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and when the news of the passing of the Stamp Act reached the Old Dominion, he introduced in the House five resolutions, declaring that the right of taxing the colonies belonged to them and that laws like the Stamp Act were destruc-

tive of peace. His resolutions were violently opposed to, but finally adopted through the powerful eloquence with which Patrick Henry advocated them. In the heat of the debate he boldly asserted: "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III —" "Treason! treason!" interrupted angry loyalists in different parts of the house. — "And George III" — repeated the speaker, his eye lighting up with the flame of patriotism — "and George III may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it!"

The words of the young patriot kindled the slumbering hatred into the flame of revolution — and the German Virginians figured among his most ardent admirers.

Before these events in Virginia became known in Massachusetts, the general court of that colony had adopted measures to inaugurate a combined opposition to the oppressive acts of the English. A Colonial Congress was proposed and on the first Tuesday in October, 1765, the delegates of nine of the colonies met at New York. They drew up a "Declaration of Rights," claiming the privileges of legal born subjects of Great Britain, especially those of self-taxation and trial by jury. The Congress then prepared petitions to the King and to Parliament, assuring the loyalty of the people, — but also their determination to nullify the odious Stamp Act.

As the day approached on which the Stamp Act was to take effect, the popular feeling against it increased. The stamps sent from England were refused the landing or destroyed, — stamp officers were insulted and forced to resign, — associations under the title of "Sons of Liberty" were formed to resist the law and the members resolved to forego all the luxuries of life, rather than to purchase them from England, — the merchants agreed to import no English goods until Parliament should recall the hateful bill, and the first day of November, 1765, appointed for the law to go into operation, was observed as a day of mourning. The bells were tolled, the vessels displayed their flags on half-mast, people dressed in mourning, all business was suspended, and even from the pulpits the popular excitement received expression.

The authorities in England were at a loss how to proceed, they were scared by this energetic protest of the Americans, and the Stamp Act was repealed the following year. The English however still maintained : to have the full right to bind and tax the colonies.

Although the repeal of the Stamp Act was received with great joy in America, yet the clause asserting the supremacy of Parliament, excited the distrust of the colonists and they continued a jealous watch over the actions of the British government. Soon new taxes were levied on tea, glass, paper and painters' colors, and the officers of the navy were appointed custom house officers with duties to enforce the laws. The Assembly of Massachusetts, having addressed circulars to the other Colonial Assemblies, to invite them to cooperate and redress all common grievances, was dissolved.

Anticipating bitter opposition, troops were sent from England to enforce the laws. New York refused to furnish quarters and supplies to British troops, and the legislative power of the Assembly of this colony was suspended. The presence of the troops was regarded as an insult, — and the overbearing conduct of the soldiery provoked the people. In the year 1769 the Assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina were also dissolved. All these measures proved ineffective and the waves of dissatisfaction and hostility tossed higher and higher. Finally, on the 5th of March, 1770, the first bloody collision occurred at Boston, Mass. — Samuel Adams demanded, in the name of the infuriated citizens, of the Governor the withdrawal of the soldiers; he yielded, and the troops retired to Castle William. — In North Carolina the extortion, by corrupt and dishonest officials, — Governor Tyson included, — had caused a number of farmers to unite under the name of "Regulators," to resist oppression. In 1771 the Governor marched against the "rebels" and took a bloody revenge. Many fled to the West and others to Virginia, there increasing the number of the discontented.

When Benjamin Franklin published the correspondence between Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, and Col. Olivier, thereby revealing the intention of Parliament to remodel the constitutional laws of Massachusetts, and when England, after

the well-known tea-revolt in Boston, December 18th, 1773, interdicted all commercial intercourse with the port of Boston, and appointed General Gage Governor of Massachusetts and commander-in-chief of the royal troops in America, — the climax of public excitement was reached.

The cause of the people of Boston was espoused by all the colonies, and in Virginia the members of the dissolved Assembly formed an association and voted to recommend to the colonies a General Congress. The first of June, the day on which the port bill (versa Boston) was to take effect, was observed in Virginia as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, to implore God that he would avert the evils that threatened them and give them one heart and one mind to firmly oppose by all just and proper means every injury to American rights.

But foremost in the movement of resistance throughout Virginia were the German inhabitants of the Valley. Hon. J. M. H. Beale stated in a letter, published in the "New York Herald" and afterwards at Woodstock, Va., Nov. 30th, 1894, in the "Shenandoah Herald:" "They formed a distinct organization, as contradistinguished from its colonial, and invested power in a 'Committee of Safety,' the prerogatives of which were to erect opposition to the royal power in case of necessity.

"The meeting which took these initial revolutionary steps was held at Woodstock, on the 16th of June, 1774, one year before the celebrated Mecklenburg meeting in North Carolina, which occurred in June, 1775. The Rev. Peter Muehlenberg was chosen the moderator of the meeting, and afterwards, as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported a number of spirited and appropriate resolutions, the tone of which was bolder than public opinion was then prepared to sanction. The following are a part of the noble sentiments then put forth by those patriotic lovers of liberty.

"That we will pay due submission to such acts of government as his Majesty has a right by law to exercise over his subjects, and to such only.

"That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be governed and taxed by representatives chosen by themselves only, and that every act of the British Parliament respecting the inter-

nal policy of America is a dangerous and unconstitutional invasion of our rights and privileges.

“That the enforcing the execution of the said act of Parliament by a military power will have a necessary tendency to cause a civil war, thereby dissolving that union which has so long happily subsisted between the mother country and her colonies; and that we will most heartily and unanimously concur with our suffering brethren of Boston, and every other part of North America, who are the immediate victims of tyranny, in promoting all proper measures to avert such dreadful calamities, to procure a redress of our grievances, and to secure our common liberties.’

“The other resolutions were common at that period, depreciating importation or exportation with Great Britain and the East India Company, who are called ‘the servile tools of Arbitrary power.’ The proceedings close by ‘pledging themselves to each other, and to our country, that we will inviolably adhere to the votes of this day.’ The Committee of Safety and Correspondence appointed for the county consisted of Rev. Peter Muehlenberg, chairman; Francis Slaughter, Abraham Bird, Tavenor Beale, (father of the undersigned,) John Tipton, and Abraham Bowman, esqs., members.

“The proceedings of this meeting are published in full in the Virginia Gazette for August 4, 1774, a file of which paper is preserved in the Congressional Library at Washington City.”

On the 4th of September, 1774, the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. All the colonies, except Georgia, were represented, and by an unanimous vote Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was elected president. It was resolved to resist the oppression of England, to approve the conduct of Massachusetts, to entreat General Gage to desist from military operations, and finally to continue the Congressional Union until the repeal of oppressive duties by Parliament. Congress called upon the people to practice in the use of arms and to prepare to act in case of emergency, and yet only a few members of Congress had any idea of independence.

All attempts at reconciliation however proved futile. King George III, by nature arbitrary and stubborn, was bent on re-

ducing his colonial subjects to submission by the sword. The determination of the King to oppress the Americans was so notorious, that when the war actually broke out, it was called in England "the King's War." Walpole's "George III," Vol. IV, p. 114, contains the following pungent remarks: "The war was considered as the war of the King personally. Those who supported it, were called the King's friends, while those who wished the country to pause and reconsider the propriety of persevering in the contest, were branded as disloyal." George III was a peculiar man and wrote this: "I wish nothing but good: therefore, every man who does not agree with me, is a liar and a scoundrel." The British Parliament was determined to make no concessions, and early in 1775 rejected a conciliatory bill introduced by Lord Chatham; thus the colonies were driven to the dread alternative of war, and Patrick Henry gave the signal, when in March, 1775, he uttered the memorable words before the Convention of Virginia, assembled at Richmond in the "Old Church": "As for me, give me liberty or give me death."

As early as the ninth of May, 1775, representatives of the people of North Carolina¹⁰⁷), mostly Germans, assembled at Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, N. C., to formally renounce their allegiance to the King, and to make provisions for self-government. This was *the first declaration of independence, illustrating the German spirit and aim*, — while the men of the North were simply fighting for their rights as *subjects* of Great Britain.¹⁰⁸) The demonstrations in North Carolina were of such character, that the Governor deemed it prudent to take refuge on a man-of-war in July, — only two months later the Governor of South Carolina followed his example, evacuating the City of Charleston, — and the Governor of Virginia, as will be explained later, also was compelled to fly on board of an armed vessel. Previous to these events, April 19th, 1775, the battle of Lexington, Mass., had been fought, the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia on May 10th, assuming the authority of a general government of the "United Colonies of

107.) "Der deutsche Pionier," Vol. III, May and June Edition. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1871.

108.) "American History for Schools," by G. P. Quackenbos, p. 141. New York, 1879.

America," and elected George Washington commander-in-chief of the American forces. On the 17th of June the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. The Americans were driven back, but they still besieged Boston, and in a few weeks Washington took command.

It is not the object to give a complete description of the War of Independence in this history, it aims to state the part Virginia, and the German Virginians in particular, took in this great struggle. All the foregoing and following historical details of a general character are simply intended to explain the action of the German Virginians.

Before further describing the course of events, another precursor of the Revolutionary War, — a new Indian war, in the year 1774, known as the "*Dunmore War*," — must be mentioned, during which the German settlers of the north-eastern mountain region of Virginia again suffered severely.

The treaty with the savages, which had not been violated since 1764, was broken by the English.¹⁰⁹) Several Indians were murdered simply to gratify the desire for Indian blood, and they retaliated in their cruel savage custom. The first innocent victims of their rage were the members of a German family by name Stroud, living on Gauley river near its junction with the Great Kanawha. The murder of the family of Logan, chief of the Mingoës and an ally of the English during the French and Indian war, particularly exasperated the Indians. Logan swore to take bloody revenge and invited the cooperation of the Delawares and Shawnees to annihilate the treacherous Whites. The two Indian tribes hesitated to join him and he began the war alone, attacking the settlements on the Ohio river.

The Assembly of Virginia resolved to protect the colonists. Governor Lord Dunmore left the gubernatorial residence at Williamsburg with an army of about twelve hundred men, and General Andrew Lewis, of Augusta county, a Scotch descendant, was ordered to muster troops in the counties of Berkeley, Hampshire, Frederick and Shenandoah, principally populated by Germans. Germans and Scotch responded with patriotism to his call,

109) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, page 113. Philadelphia, Pa., 1889.

and on October 6th, 1774, he arrived with his force of eleven hundred men at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. His little army consisted of two regiments, commanded by Colonels William Fleming, of Botetourt county, and Charles Lewis, of Augusta, — two companies from Culpepper and Bedford, — and a detachment from the Holstein settlement, now Washington county, at the head of which was Captain Shelby, a German Virginian. They erected a camp to await the arrival of Lord Dunmore's troops, but on October 9th a messenger arrived with orders from the Governor, commanding General Lewis to cross the Ohio, to dislodge the Indians in his way and to march towards the Indian villages on the Scioto, where the two divisions of the Virginian army should meet. On the 10th of October General Lewis started on his dangerous march and soon met with the Indians, who were determined to prevent the union of the two detachments. They were in superior force, the combined tribes of the Shawanees, Delawares, Mingos, Cayugas and Wyandottes, under the leadership of the famous chief Cornstalk.¹¹⁰⁾

A general engagement occurred, extending from the banks of the Ohio to the Kanawha, distant half a mile from the junction of the two rivers. General Lewis, who had witnessed a similar scene at Braddock's defeat, acted with firmness and decision, and his men fought with admirable bravery. Colonel Lewis was killed, Colonel Fleming severely wounded, one half of the other officers and seventy-five men were slain and one hundred and forty wounded. The memory of the desperate battle of Point Pleasant still lives in a popular song among the mountaineers of Virginia:

"Let us mind the tenth day of October,
Seventy-four, which caused woe, —
The Indian savages they did cover
The pleasant banks of the Ohio."

The next day Colonel Christian, with three hundred men from Fincastle, Botetourt county, arrived at Point Pleasant and at once proceeded to bury the dead. The wounded were

¹¹⁰⁾ "Geschichte des grossen amerik Westen," von H. A. Rattermann, Seite 49 — 50. Cincinnati, 1875.

sheltered in the hastily thrown up walls of Fort Randolph, which was garrisoned by one hundred men, and then the brave Virginians crossed the Ohio in hot pursuit of the defeated savages. On the 24th of October they encamped on Congo Creek, near the present town of Pickaway, having received orders to advance no further, — and to the great disappointment of the little army, desirous to avenge the death of their fallen comrades, Lord Dunmore negotiated for peace with the Indians. Thus closed “Dunmore’s War,” but its unpopular end only hastened the outbreak of the great crisis in Virginia. The hostile mood of the Virginians induced the English government to instruct Lord Dunmore to remove all military stores and arms to places of security, — and on the 20th day of April, 1775, he seized a quantity of powder belonging to the colony, — kept at Williamsburg, — and conveyed it on board the man-of-war “Magdalen,” anchored near Yorktown. When this act of the Governor became known, the colonial militia and all the people were highly exasperated. They took up arms and organized under the leadership of Patrick Henry. The cowardly Dunmore declared, that he would free all slaves and destroy Williamsburg by fire, if any harm should be done him or any English official. This threat only enraged the people still more, — about six hundred men from the mountain counties, *principally from German districts*, assembled at Fredericksburg, — and also in other sections of Virginia the citizens prepared to defend their rights. The attitude of the Virginians was so threatening, that in June, as has been stated before, Lord Dunmore fled on board a British man-of-war. This was the end of royal government in Virginia. The patriot Patrick Henry was made Governor: — now by will of the people.

Lord Dunmore tried to regain his lost authority and organized a troop of Tories, British soldiers and fugitive slaves, — but on December 9th, 1775, he was defeated at Great Bridge near Norfolk, — he retreated to this flourishing city and burnt it before the evacuation on January 6th, 1776. He attempted then to fortify himself on Governor’s Island in the Chesapeake Bay, but General Andrew Lewis routed his force and Dunmore embarked again on an English vessel and after

that time never returned to Virginia. — Several historians accuse Lord Dunmore to have wilfully provoked the “Dunmore War,” in order to reduce the strength of the Virginians, — and there may be some truth in this assertion. It is undoubtedly true that England encouraged, during the War of Independence, the Indians to attack the settlements on the frontier. — The jurisdiction of Virginia, extended in 1776 to the Mississippi, comprising the present States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. Several bold pioneers, mainly Germans from Virginia and North Carolina, had emigrated to this wilderness, and the Indians, fearful of being deprived of their beloved hunting-ground, and stirred up by English emissaries, attacked the exposed settlements in Kentucky and West Virginia. In the spring of 1776 the Cherokees also began to invade the settlements in Tennessee, the Carolinas and Georgia, — and Virginia and North and South Carolina armed three expeditions to destroy the villages and fields of the savages. Towards the end of the year the defeated Indians were compelled to sue for peace. In 1777 other Indian tribes, again incited by English agitation, renewed the murderous invasion, and chiefly the German-Virginian homes on the Ohio and Monongahela were ravaged. England adopted the most barbarous measures of warfare against the patriots. It paid a premium to the Indians for every American scalp, making no distinction of sex or age. This detestable action had the most frightful results, as will be illustrated by the following statement.

Among the rich spoils¹¹¹⁾ that a New England expedition captured in February, 1782, from the Indians, there were eight packages with ten hundred and sixty-two scalps that these savages had taken within the last three years from American colonists in Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York and New England, and which they had intended to send to Governor Haldimand of Canada with the request to forward them to the King of England: “That he might look on them, be refreshed by their sight, and reward his Indian Allies for their loyalty with new domiciles.”

111) “Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New-York,” von Friedrich Kapp, — Seite 277–278. New-York, 1868.

In Marshall county, West Virginia, about four miles from Moundsville, a monument still reminds of the victims of the savage allies of Great Britain. The monument bears this inscription¹¹²): "This humble stone is erected to the memory of Captain Foreman (a German Virginian) and twenty-one of his men, who were slain by a band of ruthless savages — the allies of a civilized nation of Europe — on the 25th of September, 1777.

So sleep the brave who sink to rest
By all their country's wishes blessed."

The fights with the Indians continued to the end of the War of Independence, but side by side with pictures of fright they present scenes of comforting and admirable heroism, and not the least on part of German frontiersmen.

In September, 1777, the savages¹¹³), their number variously estimated at from three hundred and eighty to five hundred warriors, abundantly supplied with arms and ammunition by the British Governor Hamilton at Detroit, besieged Fort Henry, now Wheeling, W. Va. The garrison, under command of Colonel Shepherd (Schaefer), a Pennsylvanian German, numbered only forty-two fighting men all told, counting those advanced in years as well as those who were mere boys. The supply of gunpowder in the fort was soon exhausted, and Colonel Shepherd resolved to send for a keg of gunpowder which was known to be in the house of Ebenezer Zane, about sixty yards from the gate of the fort. Three or four young men volunteered to undertake the desperate enterprise, but the Colonel informed them, that the weak state of the garrison would not justify the absence of more than one man, and that it was for themselves to decide who the one should be. Much time was consumed in the eager contention of the patriotic young men; it was feared that the Indians would renew the attack before the powder could be secured, and at this crisis a young lady, the sister of Ebenezer and Silas Zane, the German founders of Wheeling, came forward and desired

112) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, page 667. Philadelphia, Pa., 1889.

113.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, page 155 Philadelphia, Pa. 1889.

that she might be permitted to execute the service. Elizabeth Zane was the name of this German Virginian heroine. She said to the men, who refused to consent to her reckless plan: "As the garrison was very weak, no soldier's life should be risked, and that if she were to fall her loss would not be felt." — Her noble undertaking was ultimately granted and the gate opened for her to pass out. When the brave girl crossed the open space to reach her brother's house, the Indians looked at her in surprise and by some unexplained motive permitted her to pass unmolested. As soon however as she reappeared with the keg of powder in her arms, — suspecting no doubt the nature of her burden, — they discharged a volley at her as she swiftly glided towards the fort, — but the fearless girl reached the gate unhurt.

The historian of West Virginia¹¹⁴) says very truly: "The pages of history may furnish a parallel to the noble exploit of Elizabeth Zane, but an instance of greater self-devotion and moral intrepidity is not to be found anywhere."

The wife of Ebenezer Zane and several other women in the fort, employed themselves in running bullets and patches for the use of the men, and their presence and good cheering words contributed not a little to turn the fortunes of the day. The next morning Captain Swearinger, — another German Virginian, — arrived with fourteen men in a perogue from Cross Creek and was fortunate enough to fight his way into the fort without the loss of a single man. Shortly afterwards Major Samuel McColloch, with forty mounted men from Short Creek, came to the relief of the garrison, and the Indians raised the siege and withdrew after setting fire to all the houses and fences outside the fort and killing about three hundred head of cattle. Of the forty-two men who were in the fort on the morning of the 27th, not less than twenty-three were killed and five wounded. Governor Patrick Henry expressed his sincere acknowledgment to Colonel Shepherd and his men for their heroic defence.

In September, 1782, three hundred Indians again attacked Fort Henry, but accomplished nothing, and about one hun-

114) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, p. 161. Philadelphia, 1889.

dred of them marched to Fort Rice, on Buffalo Creek, which they expected to take without much opposition. This fort was made up of a few cabins and log-houses and was defended by *only six Germans*, — but this small garrison repulsed all the enemy's attacks and forced them to retreat. The names of these stout-hearted heroes are: Jacob Miller, George Lefler, Peter Fullenweider, Daniel Rice, Jacob Lefler and George Fellbaum, — the latter was killed. The last resting places of the others are forgotten, but the names of the six brave men are written down on the pages of history, — they are immortal.

Among the participators in General George Rogers Clark's celebrated campaign to Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, the following German Virginian officers gained distinction: Captain Leonard Helm, of Fauquier county, and Major Joseph Bowman, of Frederick county, who was next in command to General Clark. Other names, mentioned in Wm. Hayden English's "Conquest of the Northwest of the River Ohio, 1778—1783, and Life of General Clark," are essentially German-Virginian, as: Honaker, Chrisman, etc. — General Clark himself was a native of Albemarle county, Virginia. No episode in the history of Virginia is more glorious than this. With one hundred and seventy ragged boys General Clark crossed rivers in the month of February, 1779, planted the Virginian Standard upon the banks of the Mississippi, — demanded and secured unconditional surrender, — and from that time the country of Illinois, Missouri, etc., was opened to civilization. — The great distances, the uncertainty, the wilderness, and the Indians made General Clark's expedition one of terrible hardship, and the adroitness with which Clark proceeded in reconciling both the Indians and French inhabitants and surprising the English posts: Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and the indomitable energy displayed by him and his soldiers in overcoming the rigors of winter and the terrors of rain and flood, cannot but command admiration.

Several years before the Revolutionary War General Morgan organized his famous corps of riflemen and took active part in the combats with the Indians. A large number of German Virginians from Winchester and its environs were

among his men. Andreas Simon¹¹⁵⁾ names the following: Johann Schultz, Jacob Sperry, Peter and Simon Lauck, Friedrich Kurtz, Karl Grimm, Georg Heisler, and Adam Kurz. Morgan's so-called "Dutch Mess"¹¹⁶⁾ gained special fame by its attachment to the General and brave conduct. They accompanied him in all his adventurous expeditions against the Indians, in the disastrous campaign of General Braddock, in Arnold's expedition to Canada, and to the end of the War of Independence. The six members of the "mess" acted as aide-de-camp, — but never received or accepted an officer's commission. After the war they were rewarded with valuable lands near Winchester, which to this day are owned by their descendants.

It has been stated that the German Virginians were dissatisfied with the English rule and very much disposed to assist in the overthrow of British supremacy. "Der Staatsbote," a German paper published at Philadelphia, had many readers among the Germans of the Valley, and stirred the revolutionary spirit. Heinrich Ringer, at Winchester, and Jacob Nicolas, at Picket Mountain, Augusty county, were the Virginian agents of the paper. The edition of March 19th, 1776, contains an appeal to the Germans, beginning as follows¹¹⁷⁾: "Remember that your forefathers emigrated to America to escape bondage and to enjoy liberty, and bore the greatest hardship and ill treatment. — Remember that where bondage existed in Germany, no bondsman was allowed to marry without the consent of his patron, and that parents and children were not treated much better than the black slaves in West India." — The article closes with the words: "Remember that the British Government and Parliament aim to establish similar and perhaps worse conditions in America."

The "Staatsbote" was like a fire-brand thrown among the German settlers — and they enthusiastically embraced the American cause. Their self-sacrifice and fidelity is worthy of lauda-

115.) "Der Westen," Chicago, Ills., 1892.

116.) "Der Süden," deutsch-amerikanische Wochenschrift, Jahrgang I, No. 2, Seite 4. Richmond, Va., 1891.

117.) "Deutsch-amerikanisches Magazin," von H. A. Rattermann, Band I, Heft 8, Seite 422. Cincinnati, 1886.

tion. L. A. Wollenweber¹¹⁸) for example relates the following instance of German devotion: "In 1751 Friedrich Ladner had emigrated from Pliningen, in Wuerttemberg, to America and with his family settled a few miles south of Harper's Ferry. When the people rushed to arms *three of his sons* and *four of his grand-children* joined Peter Muehlenberg's regiment to defend their adopted fatherland."

In 1776 the Convention of Virginia resolved to recruit seven new regiments besides the existing, and among the commanding officers were the following with German names¹¹⁹):

2nd Virginia line:			Colonel Christian Febiger (1778—1783), Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Simms (1778—1779), and Colonel Wm. Darke (1791).
3d	"	"	Colonel G. von der Wieden (Weedon), Lieutenant-Colonel Ch. Fleming.
4th	"	"	Major Ch. Fleming.
6th	"	"	Colonel M. Buckner, Colonel Adam Stephan, Lieutenant-Colonel Chas. Simms (1777—1778).
8th	"	"	Colonel Peter Muehlenberg (1776—1777), Lieutenant-Colonel and after 1777 Colonel Abraham Bauman (Bowman), Major Keim, and in succession: Wm. Darke and Andreas Waggener.
9th	"	"	Colonel Ch. Fleming, Major Peter Helfenstein.
11th	"	"	Lieutenant-Colonel Christian Febiger (1776—1778).

Of other German Virginian officers of the Colonial army are known: Major Johannes Mueller, Mathias Heid, Abel Westphal, Daniel Kolb, Jacob Rucker and Isaac Israel¹²⁰), — all but the

118.) "Deutscher Pionier," 2. und 3. Jahrgang. — Historische Novelle von L. A. Wollenweber, Cincinnati, 1870—1871.

119.) "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army," by F. B. Heitman. Washington, 1893.

120.) "The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen," by Simon Wolf. Philadelphia, 1895.

first two belonged to Muehlenberg's regiment. The Pension Registers in Washington also prove that German Virginians served in Maryland and Pennsylvania regiments.

A most striking example of patriotism was given by *Johann Gabriel Peter Muehlenberg*, the pastor of the Lutheran church at Woodstock, in the Shenandoah Valley. He was born at Trappe, Pa., in 1746, his father was the venerable patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, the Rev. Heinrich M. Muehlenberg, — under his guidance he received an excellent education. In his youth he was a boy difficult to manage. Destined for the ministry, his father sent him to Germany to conclude his studies, — but Peter entered an apprenticeship to a mercantile house in Luebeck. He stayed there three years, working faithfully, — but his spirits were depressed by his close and monotonous duties. He abruptly left his place and enlisted in Hanover in a regiment of dragoons. Later on maturer judgment overcame his inclination towards the adventurous and he recommenced the study of theology, passed his examinations and after his return to America he received the vocation of pastor at Woodstock, Va. The young pastor gained the intimate friendship of George Washington and Patrick Henry — and took great interest in the struggle for independence and the preparations for war. His military antecedence was revived, and upon the recommendations of George Washington and Patrick Henry he was commissioned Colonel of the Eighth Virginia Regiment. In January, 1776, he preached his valedictory sermon. "From far and near the German farmers came with their wives and children," says Rev. Dr. Zimmermann,¹²¹) "and crowded the little church at Woodstock." — Muehlenberg implored the congregation to support the struggle for liberty and then he exclaimed: "Dear brethren and sisters, I feel truly grieved to announce that this is my farewell sermon, but if it is God's will I shall soon return to you. It is a sacred duty that calls me from you and I feel I must submit to it. The endangered fatherland, to which we owe wealth and blood, needs our arms — it calls on its sons to drive off the oppressors.

121.) "Vierhundert Jahre amerikanischer Geschichte," von Dr. G. A. Zimmermann, Seite 227—228. Milwaukee, Wisc., 1893.

You know how much we have suffered for years, — that all our petitions for help have been in vain,—and that the King of England shut his ears to our complaints. The Holy Scripture says: There is a time for everything in this world; a time to talk, a time to be silent, a time to preach and to pray, — but also a time to fight, — and this time has come! Therefore, whoever loves freedom and his new fatherland, he *may follow me!*” — After these inspiring remarks Rev. Muehlenberg uttered a benediction, and then he laid aside his priestly robe and buckled a sword about his waist. — A scene of indescribable enthusiasm followed — the entire assembly arose from the seats, and Dr. Luther’s powerful hymn: “Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott,” was intonated. Drums were beaten outside the church — and after the lapse of half an hour one hundred and sixty-two men and youths had enlisted to follow their parson. — This act of German-American patriotism has been immortalized by several German-American poets, like Dr. Victor Precht in his drama: “Kuerass und Kutte,” and Prof. Wilhelm Mueller in his poem: “Die letzte Predigt.”^{1 2 2)}

Muehlenberg’s regiment was first ordered South and distinguished itself at Charleston, S. C., and in Georgia. Reduced greatly in number by loss on the battlefield and sickness, the commanding officer, Gen. Lee, having received orders to join the northern army, directed Muehlenberg, sick himself, to return to Woodstock with his invalides. He was prostrated by an attack of fever, but only a short rest was allowed him to recover his health; he was ordered to bring up the rest of his regiment from Savannah, to reinforce it with new members and to join General Washington’s army in New Jersey. When Muehlenberg’s regiment reached Washington’s camp it was stronger than ever before, having gained many recruits in Maryland and Pennsylvania.

On February 21st, 1777, Muehlenberg was promoted by act of Congress to the rank of Brigadier-General, and besides his own regiment the Third and Fifth Virginia were placed under his command. Many Germans also belonged to these regiments.

122.) “Am Wege gepflückt,” Gedicht-Sammlung von Wilh. Müller. Glarus in der Schweiz, 1888.

General Muehlenberg was a born military genius and Anglo-American historians have acknowledged his courage* and talent. General Washington esteemed him highly — and the celebrated German generals: von Steuben and De Kalb, were attached to him by ties of friendship. — The battle of Brandywine on the 11th of September, 1777, was disastrous to the American army. A rout ensued and utter defeat was prevented only by the brave resistance of Muehlenberg's brigade, that checked the advance of the pursuing British army and enabled the retreating American and French forces to escape annihilation. — In the battle of Germantown, on October 4th, 1777, he defeated the opposing wing of the enemy's army, and when the centre and right wing of the Americans gave way, he again covered the retreat. His loss was severe, among the killed was Major Keim, — but the weakened regiments replenished their number by numerous deserters of the German subsidiary troops of the British army. — At Valley Forge he aided his friend, General von Steuben, to reorganize the demoralized army, and under his command he fought in 1780 in Virginia against the traitor Arnold, who pillaged the country along the James river. When Arnold harassed Petersburg, Muehlenberg, with a few hundred Germans, defended the bridge leading to the city, and when forced to withdraw, he retreated in good order. In his report to Congress Governor Jefferson spoke with the highest admiration of this war-like deed. — In the final decisive combats at Yorktown Muehlenberg's brigade stormed and took the redoubt on the left wing of the British fortification and thus assisted to force the surrender. In this glorious affair Colonel Bowman lost his life.

After the surrender of Yorktown, General Washington appointed Muehlenberg military commander of Virginia, and on the conclusion of peace the Lutheran community at Woodstock invited General Muehlenberg to resume his pastorate. Muehlenberg declined and said: "It would not be proper to again graft the pastor on the soldier," — and he returned to his native State, Pennsylvania. He was elected to Congress and died on October 1st, 1807. At Trappe, near his father's old church, a tombstone bears the following inscription :

“To the memory of General Peter Muehlenberg.

Born Oct. 1st, 1746, and died Oct. 1st, 1807.

He was brave in battle, wise in council, honorable in all his actions, a faithful friend and an honest man.”

The reward with which the National Government presented him, was rather scanty in consideration of his noble services. His father wrote on September 6th, 1785, with unmistakable bitterness: “After the end of the war the S. T. government donated to him some thousand acres of land far off in the wilderness, which region is still in possession of the savage Indians and must either be purchased with money or taken by force of arms.”

General *Gerhard von der Wieden* — or Weedon, as Anglo-American historians call him, — is another example of patriotic devotion. He was a native of Hannover and had served as an officer in the German army. He came to America with General Heinrich Bouquet and took part in the campaigns of the French and Indian war. After the treaty of peace was signed, von der Wieden settled at Fredericksburg, Va., where he married, took charge of the post office and established an inn. He took great interest in the political events of the time and enthusiastically advocated the American cause. At the outbreak of the Revolution von der Wieden was captain in the Third Virginia Regiment of Militia, and on February 13th, 1776, he was elected Lieutenant-Colonel, — on August 12th he received the appointment as Colonel of the reorganized First Virginia Regiment in the Continental Army, and on February 24th, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General. On account of disregard in promotion he afterwards resigned his charge, but upon the urgent request of General Muehlenberg he again accepted a brigadier-generalship and finally commanded the Virginia militia at Gloucester Point during the siege of Yorktown. General von Steuben esteemed him as an experienced and valiant officer, and the Englishman, Dr. J. T. D. Smith, who travelled in America and published an account of his travels at London in 1784, bears the following testimony of his patriotic sentiments: “When I reached Fredericksburg I did put up at an inn kept by one Weedon, who is now a general in the American army and was zealous to fan the flame of insurrection.”

General *William Darke*, already mentioned, was born at Lancaster, Pa., in 1736, and was but five years of age when he came to Virginia with his German parents, who settled near Shepherdstown. Here they were on the outermost bounds of civilization, and amid this solitude young Darke grew up to manhood. "Nature made him," — says Virgil A. Lewis, — "a noble man; he was endowed with an herculean frame; his manners were rough, his mind strong but uncultivated, and his disposition frank and fearless." — A spirit of daring and adventure induced him, when only aged nineteen, to join Braddock's army. During the War of Independence he rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1791 he commanded the Second Virginia Regiment. On the disastrous field on the banks of the St. Mary he evinced the utmost bravery. General St. Clair in his official report, written at Fort Washington on November 9th, 1791, says: "Colonel Darke was ordered to make a charge with a part of the second line, and to turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit and at first promised great success. The Indians instantly gave way and were driven back three or four hundred yards, but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn." Colonel Darke's Virginians made a second charge, not less gallantly performed, but with sad results, and among the many killed was Captain Joseph Darke, the youngest son of the Colonel. Colonel Darke then returned to his home in Berkeley county, which he represented in the General Assembly, and in acknowledgment of his military services he received the title of General. He died on the 20th day of November, 1801, and "Darkeville," in Berkeley county, and "Darke county," in Ohio, commemorate his name.

General *Adam Stephan*, Stephen or Steven, already spoken of in Chapter VII, entered the Continental Army at the beginning of the war with rank as Colonel of the Sixth Virginia Regiment. On September 4th, 1776, he received a Brigadier-General's commission, and on February 12th, 1777, that of Major-General. He gained distinction in the battle of Brandywine, but his inclination to dissipation was his ruin. He was tried by a court-martial on the charge of intoxication at the battle of Germantown, — and was found guilty and discharged from the army

in 1778. Nevertheless he enjoyed the respect of his countrymen and in 1788 was elected to represent Berkeley county in the Convention. He died near Winchester in November 1791.

Armand's Legion, that the Marquis de la Rouerie, with the consent of Congress, recruited in the summer of 1777 in America of men "who could not speak English," was originally commanded by Baron von Ottendorf, a Saxon by birth, and consisted chiefly of German Virginians of Augusta, Rockingham, Monroe, Frederick, Loudon and Berkeley counties. To this corps the independent cavalry company of Captain Paul Schott was afterwards added. All officers and privates of this squadron were Germans. H. A. Rattermann¹²³) gives the following names: Johann Paul Schott, Captain, — Christian Manele and Georg Schaffner, Lieutenants, — Friedrich Liebe, Georg Duehn, and Georg Langhammer, Sergeants, — Friedrich Bergmann, David Breckle, and Johann Goedecke, Corporals, — and Johann Holzbrueck, Trumpeter. The history of *Captain Schott* is one of the most pleasing pictures of that stormy time and the historian Rattermann relates it as below:

"In the early part of the year 1776, a young man of slender stature, fascinating manners and highly educated, arrived at New York to see America and to inform himself about the Revolutionary War, already waged for three quarters of a year. English and Dutch letters of introduction to Governor Tryon represented him as Johann Paul Schott, First Lieutenant in the army of his Majesty Frederick II of Prussia and Adjutant of his Highness Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, Lieutenant-General of the Prussian army. His soldierly manners and pleasing and correct conduct soon gained him the favor of the aristocratic circles to which he had been especially recommended. He spoke English fluently with only a slight German accent. He had crossed the ocean in a Dutch ship from Rotterdam, which probably sailed to New York, that port being in possession of the Tories, and with more assurance of safety to reach than either Philadelphia or Baltimore, not to speak of Boston, which was besieged at that

123.) "Der deutsche Pionier," Vol. VIII, Seite 57. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1870.

time by General Washington. Not desirous to stay at New York and watch only the British methods of war, he soon left for Philadelphia, being also provided with letters of introduction to several prominent American leaders. He was impressed by the deep concern which was exhibited by the patriots for their cause. He was so much inspired, that he resolved to draw his sword for American independence. Seeing that the colonists were much in need of arms, particularly cannon and ammunition, and possessed of a large sum of money, he determined to risk the hazardous enterprise to supply them with the requisites of war. During the summer of 1776 he sailed to St. Eustache, a small island of the Lesser Antilles, owned by the Dutch, where goods and military stores were sold and blockade-runners fitted out. Herr Schott chartered a schooner, freighted it with arms and ammunition, which he purchased, and then steered for the Coast of Virginia. At Hampton Roads he met the English fleet, which he deceived by raising the English flag and dressing his sailors like English marines. The British man-of-war allowed the schooner to pass unmolested, supposing it to be a transport ship of the fleet, — until it sailed beyond the line. Discovering their error, they signalled it to return, which was of course not obeyed, and then several volleys and finally a broadside were fired on the swiftly sailing vessel, but did it no harm. When Schott neared the land, the English uniforms, which he and his men had had no time to change, endangered their lives again. Although he had now raised the flag of the Colonies, several shots were fired from the American batteries, and by one of them the rigging of the schooner was torn. Hoisting a white flag, the Americans recognized them at last to be friends and amid cheers of welcome they landed at Norfolk. Schott sold his arms, etc., and upon his application to Congress he received a captain's commission, with the order to report at once to General Washington at New York. At the time he arrived at New York depression and gloom weighed heavily upon the army. Lord Howe's army had been reinforced by nine thousand Hessians and Brunswick troops under General Heister, and had attacked and defeated the American troops on Long Island, under Putnam. Lord Howe's object now was to get possession of New York and

the Hudson — and he ordered the British fleet to sail up the North river to cut off the retreat of Washington's army to New Jersey. This was the situation on the 9th of September, when Capt. Schott reached camp. He found the commanding general at the battery, watching the English men-of-war. A powerful frigate first tried to go up the North river and General Washington gave the order to open fire, — but at that time the British on Governor's Island began to shell the Americans, and with great effect. Especially one English cannon was well served and did much harm. Schott, who had no chance to approach General Washington at this critical moment, observed an American cannon which was not served, and he quickly collected some soldiers, had the gun loaded, sighted it himself, and soon silenced the troublesome piece of ordinarce on Governor's Island. General Washington had observed his brave deed and at once placed Captain Schott in command of a battery. He was afterwards authorized to recruit a company of German dragoons, — as already mentioned, — to appoint his officers and to use the *German language in command*. His squadron gained many laurels during the following years of the war. After the close of the war Captain Schott was made Judge of Luzerne county, Pa., and he died in 1829 at Philadelphia.

The defeats at Brandywine and Germantown and the evacuation of Philadelphia proved very demoralizing to the American army. At Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill river, twenty-two miles from Philadelphia, General Washington and his suffering men went into winter-quarters. They were encamped in comfortless huts, half-clad, frequently in need of the plainest clothing, without shoes or blankets. Sickness prevailed, and many friends of the cause lost confidence in General Washington. While he was fighting against famine and perils, General Conway, Inspector-General of the army, and a cunning intriguer, formed a plot with the officers to raise General Gates to the chief command in his stead. Even the life of Washington was endangered, and upon the advice of his Secretary and Adjutant, Reed, the son of German parents in New Jersey, — who replied to an offer made him by the British of wealth and titles for the future, if he would aid the royal cause: "I am not worth purchasing; but, such

as I am, the King of England is not rich enough to buy me,"— he authorized Major Bartholomæus von Heer and Captain Jacob Meytinger to organize a mounted German body-guard under the name of "Independent Troop of Horse," and he entrusted only this troop with the carrying of all orders from his head-quarters. Some German Virginians were among the members of this German-American body-guard, as: Friedrich Fuchs, of Woodstock, Corporal Ignatz Effinger, Friedrich Trecius and Heinrich Frank. — At this dark hour of the Revolutionary War, the greatest German-American of his time: *Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben*, who in the Seven Years' War had served under Frederick the Great, of Prussia, came to America and tendered his sword to the National cause. He was appointed to General Conway's office and soon made his skillful management apparent in every department. General von Steuben introduced a strict discipline after the Prussian pattern and a uniform system of tactics. For some time, says Washington Irving, there was nothing but drilling in the camp of Valley Forge, followed by evolutions of different kind. Officers and men were schooled. The troops were formed in line of parade, every officer in his place, and the Baron walked along the front examining every musket and controlling that accoutrements and uniforms were in perfect order. In the start the Baron had to compete with a dislike of the foreigner and the difficulties of the English language, but his kindness, justice and earnest care for the welfare of the soldiers soon gained him general confidence and affection. General Washington rendered him all possible assistance. Milder weather, the recognition of the Independence of the United Colonies by France on the 6th day of February, 1778, and the news, that a French fleet was on its way to help them in their struggle, — gladdened the hearts of all, and confidence returned.

General von Steuben was born at Magdeburg and entered the Prussian army when but fourteen years of age. He distinguished himself in the campaigns of Frederick the Great, and was promoted to the rank of Adjutant-Major. After the inauguration of peace he left the Prussian service, declined a proposition to join the English army and sailed to America to offer his services to the patriots. After he received his commis-

sion as Inspector-General, and having reorganized the disheartened army, he took active part in the battle of Monmouth on June 28th, 1778. The British General, Matthews, making havoc on the James and Elizabeth rivers in the Old Dominion, burning trade- and war-ships, carrying off tobacco or whatever other booty he could make, von Steuben was appointed Commanding General of Virginia, and here he gained the highest distinction. He had just commenced to recruit and organize a force, when in January, 1781, the traitor Arnold with sixteen hundred men, and a number of armed ships, invaded Virginia. Steuben had only three hundred men to oppose him and he could not prevent that Arnold destroyed a large amount of property on both sides of the James river and occupied the city of Richmond without resistance. Meanwhile General Steuben had been reinforced by General Muehlenberg's Brigade and hastily gathered all attainable militia — altogether about four thousand men — and then he forced the British to retreat to Portsmouth. It was his cherished plan to capture Arnold and his entire force. General Washington approved of it and despatched General Lafayette with twelve hundred Continentals to join Steuben. A French fleet was also sent to cut off Arnold's retreat by water, but it was engaged and worsted by an English squadron and returned to Rhode Island. General Philipps then reinforced Arnold with twenty-five hundred men and took command of the troops. He advanced towards Richmond, pillaging the country. Lafayette now arrived in Virginia, but he could not prevent that Lord Cornwallis united with Arnold on the 20th of May, and then harassed the country by patrolling out his light troops. General Wayne however came to the succor of Lafayette and they forced the English commander to fall back upon Yorktown, which he proceeded to fortify. The French fleet, with a large force under the Count de Grasse, arrived in the Chesapeake Bay, blocking the mouths of the York and James rivers. General Washington and Count Rochambeau, the French commander in the United States, concentrated the allied forces, amounting to sixteen thousand men, near Williamsburg, and on the night of the 6th of October General von Steuben commenced to draw his parallels around Yorktown. On the 11th of October he began the

second line of approach, which he very rapidly completed before morning. General Washington had intrusted him with these important matters, knowing that he possessed more practical experience in the tactics of siege, than any other officer of his army. Two redoubts, Nos. 9 and 10, in advance of the English main works, greatly annoyed the American line by their fire, — and being within storming distance, General Washington resolved to have them silenced. The supposed best troops in the allied army were selected for the storming — and these were German and German-Virginian. The capture of Redoubt No. 10 was assigned to four hundred of Muehlenberg's Light Infantry under command of General Hamilton, — and on the French side Lieutenant-Colonel Prince Wilhelm von Zweibrücken, with four hundred grenadiers of the regiments "Royal Deuxponts" and "Gatenois," received orders to take No. 9. — Prof. John P. McGuire, of Richmond, Va., on the 15th of January, 1897, in a lecture delivered before the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, gave the following description of the attack: "It is the evening of the 14th. The parties move into position; the Light Infantry, 'refreshed,' says a chronicler, 'with dinner and a nap.' Suddenly six shells blaze forth from the lines, sounding the signal and giving direction to the chargers. Hamilton and his men advance at double quick, with bayonets on unloaded muskets, Ginat's battalion in front. Laurens is detached to swing around the redoubt and prevent the escape of the garrison. Half way to the work they take the charging step. Not waiting for the sappers, Hamilton in the lead, with his friend, Nicholas Fish. Through and over the obstructions rush the brave Continentals. Over the ditch they go, and scale the parapet. In nine minutes from the start the redoubt is taken. In the nine minutes they lost thirty-four men killed and wounded." — Colonel Bauman suffered heroic death — and General Muehlenberg was slightly wounded. — "Keeping time with Hamilton's advance," — Prof. McGuire continued, — "Deuxpont's men move silently out, but at one hundred and twenty paces from the redoubt they hear a Hessian sentinel shout, 'Wer da?' Instantly the enemy fire. At twenty-five paces from the fort strong abatis stop the French until the sappers clear the way. Then the chasseurs dash on

and mount the parapet. The British charge upon them. Deu-x-ponts orders his men to fire and counter-charge, and the works are theirs. It has cost them half an hour and ninety-two men." — Prince Wilhelm was among the wounded.

These brilliant feats of arms excited General Washington's enthusiasm and he exclaimed: "The work is done, and well done," and in his journal he wrote: "Few cases have exhibited greater proof of intrepidity, coolness and firmness than were shown upon this occasion."

Cornwallis, in an effort to escape by crossing the river, failed, and he sent a white flag to ask terms of surrender. General Steuben was at that time in command of the outline of the besieging armies, and while the negotiations dragged on, General Lafayette came with his division to relieve him, asserting also that the surrender of the English was to be made to him. Steuben remonstrated and maintained: that this demand was conflicting with the usage of war, and that the commander to whom the capitulation had been offered, was to remain in command until the terms of surrender had been accepted or refused, — and *General Washington decided in his favor*. Thus the British lowered their flag to General von Steuben. The whole remaining British force surrendered to the allies, — the land army to the Americans and the marine force to the French, and this glorious victory caused a cry of joy in every American heart.

After the end of the war Steuben continued for three years as Inspector-General of the army, but he resigned in disgust on the 15th of April, 1784, when Congress did not appoint him to the position of Secretary of War, for which he had applied, giving as reason: *that such an important office could not be bestowed on a foreigner*. Such is the gratitude of nations! Congress accepted the resignation of General von Steuben, expressed him the thanks of the Nation for his great services and presented him with a sword with golden hilt and a pension of \$2500 a year. The States of Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York donated the great German-American with tracts of land.

General Steuben passed the rest of his days in quietude at his country-seat near Utica, N. Y. — "It is difficult," says the

Anglo-American historian Headly, "to value Steuben's merits to their full extent, but it is certain, that his arrival in our country marks a period in our revolution. The discipline which he introduced did wonders at Monmouth and made veterans of the soldiers who stormed Stony Point, — the eyes of the Government and of the officers were now opened and the army underwent a total reorganization." — Prof. O. Seidensticker writes of him: "Steuben's merits as the organisator of the army were of greater value for the revolutionary cause than a corps d'armée."

On November 28th, 1794, the German hero died. In Virginia, where he achieved his greatest triumph as General and military engineer, his memory is held sacred by his countrymen. In some later chapter it will be reported how they have honored the great German soldier.¹²⁴) General Steuben, on his part, also remained a true friend of his countrymen. — He was president of the German Society of New York from September 12th, 1785, until his death.¹²⁵)

Not only on the bloody fields of battle have the German Virginians verified their love of liberty and their devotion to the American cause. Dr. Schoepf, the famed traveller, for instance, relates¹²⁶): "In Manchester I visited Mr. Jacob Ruebsaamen, a German, who had formerly been in the mining and smelting business in New Jersey, but who erected a powder-mill in Virginia at the beginning of the war, — *the first one ever established in America*. The mill was afterwards destroyed by the British troops." — The pious German Quakers, Tunkers and Mennonites, who refused to carry arms for religious reasons, served the cause of liberty and independence in their unostentatious way. They raised provisions, and some historians state: that they hauled wagon-loads of grain to the camps for the starving soldiers. It was an act of injustice to doubt their sincerity. They were frequently treated very rudely. From

124) Compare: "The Life of Frederick Wilhelm von Steuben," by Friedrich Kapp. New York, 1859. — "Der deutsche Pionier," Jahrgang I: "Der Arm Washington's" von Kara Giorg (Dr. G. Bruehl) Cincinnati, 1839.

125.) "Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten," von Gustav Koerner, Seite 96. Cincinnati, 1880 — "Geschichte der Deutschen in New York," von Friedrich Kapp, Seite 338. New York, 1868.

126) "Der Süden," deutsch-amerikanische Wochenschrift, Jahrgang I, No. 18, Seite 4. Richmond, Va., 1891.

Pennsylvania, where they suffered most, troops of them were brought to Virginia as prisoners and held in confinement near Staunton.

During the whole time of the War of Independence only *one case of enmity* on part of the Germans in Virginia is known, — the Tories were mostly of English descent. In 1781, at the time when Lord Cornwallis invaded Virginia with a large army, John Claypole, a Scotchman by birth, and his two sons, who lived within the present limits of Hardy county, succeeded in drawing over to the British side a number of people domiciled on Lost river and the south branch of the Potomac, then in Hampshire, now in Hardy county. They refused to pay taxes and to furnish their quota of men to serve in the militia. Among them was John Brake,¹²⁷⁾ an old German of considerable wealth, who had a fine farm, mill and distillery about fifteen miles above Moorefield, and also many fat hogs and cattle. *"He was an exception in his political course to his countrymen,"* says Kercheval, *"as they were almost to a man true Whigs and friends to this country."* His house was the place of rendezvous for the insurgents, who organized and made John Claypole their commander. The insurrection was soon suppressed and General Morgan took Brake prisoner and quartered his German sharpshooters at his house to live on the best that his farm, mill and distillery afforded. Three days later General Morgan returned to Winchester with his troops, and thus the Tory-insurrection ended. The parties themselves were aroused to shame by their conduct and several volunteered and aided in the capture of Cornwallis.

Virgil A. Lewis¹²⁸⁾ characterizes the Germans of the Valley as follows: "The lower portion of the Valley was occupied by the sturdy yeomanry of Germany. No European nation contributed a better class of emigrants than these. Arriving first in Pennsylvania, they pressed onward in search of fertile lands. These they found in the Shenandoah Valley, and almost the entire region of country where Harrisonburg now

127) "History of the Valley of Virginia," by S. Kercheval. Woodstock, Va., 1850.

128.) "History of West Virginia," by Virgil A. Lewis, pp. 70 and 71. Philadelphia, 1889.

stands to Harper's Ferry was possessed by them before the beginning of the French and Indian war. During the struggle hundreds of them served with Washington and at its close the bones of many of them lay bleaching on the disastrous field of Monongahela. When the Revolutionary War came their sons were ready, and many of them filled the Virginia line in the strife for independence." — The importance of the German element in Virginia at the close of the eighteenth century is also demonstrated by the following historical fact: "On December 23d, 1794, the House of Delegates of Virginia resolved to publish *in German* the most important laws of the State — and in 1795 a translation by Gustav Friedrich Goetz was printed by Carl Cist in Philadelphia under the title: "Acten, welche in der General Assembly der Republik Virginien passirt worden sind."

CHAPTER IX.

GERMAN ALLIED TROOPS OF ENGLAND AS PRISONERS OF WAR IN VIRGINIA.

AT dawn of the 26th of December, 1776, General George Washington surprised and captured at Trenton, N. J., a Hessian detachment under Colonel Rahl, and most of these soldiers were taken to Virginia as prisoners of war. On their way there they were frequently threatened with violence by mobs, especially at Philadelphia, and upon General Washington's suggestion the magistracy of this city issued a proclamation to quiet the people. This public notice stated:

“One thousand Hessian prisoners reached our city yesterday, who were captured by His Excellency General Washington, in his successful expedition to New Jersey. The General has instructed this council to provide them with suitable quarters, and it is his earnest wish, that they may be well treated in order to make during their captivity such experience, that the eyes of their countrymen serving in the Royal British army be opened. These unfortunate men deserve our sympathy. They entertain no enmity towards us, they did not come voluntarily, but have been hired out without their consent by their despotic princes to a foreign monarch, etc.”

This act of kindness of General Washington had good results, although it was not approved by many fanatic Americans. Indeed, the longer the war lasted, the more the feeling of hate towards the Hessian hirelings increased, especially among the lower class of the English population.

On October 17th, 1777, General Burgoyne surrendered on the plains of Saratoga, and the number of German prisoners of war was increased by seven thousand. General Morgan escorted

a large detachment of them, Hessian and Brunswick troops, under General Friedrich Adolph von Riedesel, to Virginia: "A march of 650 miles," says von Eelking,¹²⁹⁾ "through a country full of hostile inhabitants, with no provision for health or comfort." The men were taken to Winchester, Staunton and Charlottesville, and the officers to Winchester and Charlottesville, and later on to Fredericksburg and Richmond.

The German troops¹³⁰⁾ that surrendered at Yorktown, Va., with Cornwallis, included the Crown Prince's regiment, two other Hessian regiments, and two from the Rhine. General Muehlenberg commanded the small escort, which accompanied the prisoners to their winter-quarters at Winchester, and later on part of them were sent to Frederick, Md., and Lancaster, Pa.

The German Virginians were much grieved by the deplorable part their captured countrymen were destined to take in the War of Independence, and the modern slave trade of German soldiers was most severely condemned by all intelligent people of Germany. Heroes of science¹³¹⁾ like Kant, Arndt, Klopstock, Herder and Lessing, detested the unscrupulous dealings of some petty German princes and sympathized with America struggling for liberty.

Niebuhr wrote in his, "Geschichte des Zeitalters der Revolution:

"The more the subsidiary contracts were hated and cursed, the more sympathy was felt for America. The frame of mind was so much moved out of the natural line of direction, that the news of the capture of German troops by Washington in 1776, was received with general joy instead of regret."

And never any act was more scornfully criticized than this sale of soldiers by the noble-hearted and ideal Friedrich von Schiller, the favorite Poet of all Germans. In his tragedy: "Kabale und Liebe," he stigmatized it in the following scene.¹³²⁾

129.) "The German Allied Troops," (Die deutschen Hilfstruppen im Nord-Amerikanischen Befreiungskriege, von Max von Eelking,) translated by J. G. Rosengarten, page 147. Albany, N. Y., 1893.

130.) "The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States," by J. G. Rosengarten, p. 83. Philadelphia, 1890.

131) "Ueber den Soldatenhandel," von W. A. Fritsch, in: "Deutsch-amerik. Magazin," Heft IV, pp. 589-593. Cincinnati, 1889.

132.) "Kabale und Liebe," von Friedrich von Schiller, 2. Act, 2. Scene.

An old chamberlain of the Duke brings a jewelry box, and Lady Milford, the mistress of the prince, refuses with contempt to accept the diamonds, learning that they have been paid with gold received for soldiers.

Chamberlain: "His serene highness sends his compliments and these diamonds just received from Venice."

Lady (opening the casket with surprise): "Say, sir, how much has the Duke paid for the jewels?"

Chamberlain (with a sad expression): "They cost him nothing."

Lady: "What? Are you crazy? Nothing? And why do you look at me so exasperated?—These immensely valuable diamonds cost him nothing?"

Chamberlain: "Yesterday 7,000 subjects left for America, they will pay for them!"

Lady (laying the jewel box hastily aside): "Man, what ails you? It seems you cry!"

Chamberlain (wiping his tears): "Two sons of mine are among them!"

Lady (grasping his hands): "But, they were not forced to go?"

Chamberlain (laughing grimly): "O Lord no! They all volunteered! There were a few saucy fellows who stepped to the front and asked the colonel, at what price our prince sells a team of men,—but our gracious sovereign ordered all the regiments to the parade ground, and had those fools executed. We heard the report of the rifles, we saw their brains spattered on the pavement, and the whole army shouted, Hurrah! To America!"

Lady (dropping on her sofa in terror): "O, Lord! And I heard nothing, had no knowledge of it!"

Chamberlain: "Yes, my lady, why did you go bear-hunting with our Duke, when the alarm was given? You ought not have missed the sight, when the shrill clang of drums announced that the time to part had come; and crying orphans followed their yet living fathers,—a mother in despair tried to spear her baby to a bayonet,—bride and bridegroom were rudely

separated, and white-bearded men looked on in distraction, throwing their crutches to the boys to take them along also to the New World! And again the drums were beaten, that the all-knowing God might not hear our prayers. At the town-gate they turned around once more and shouted: "The Lord protect you, women and children! God save the prince! At the day of judgment we will meet again!"

Vis-a-vis to the moral indignation of the German people, as demonstrated by its best men, neither the victims, nor the tyrannized German nation, can be blamed for a bargain, which the English Government had effected with some covetous and profligate German princes. The Americans had still less cause for their spiteful conduct, and for making the Hessians a degrading byword, for belonging to the allied French forces were also German subsidiary troops, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Continental Army. It was altogether unreasonable to abuse the disinterested German-Americans, who proved faithful to the American cause during the war even unto death!

The German allied troops, who served in Virginia under the French General: de Rochambeau, were, according to H. A. Rattermann's careful researches¹³³):

1. Regiment "Royal Allemand de Deux-Ponts." (Koenigliches deutsches Regiment Zweibruecken.) Officers known:

Colonel Prince Christian, of Zweibruecken-Birkenfeld, Lieut. Colonel Prince Wilhelm, of Zweibruecken-Birkenfeld, Major Freiherr Eberhard von Eisebeck, and Capt. Haake.

2. One battalion of "Kur-Triersche Grenadiere," as "Detachment du regiment La Sarre," incorporated in the regiment "Saintonge," and commanded by Colonel Adam Philipp Graf (count) von Custine, of Lorraine.

3. Some rifle companies from Alsace and Lorraine, attached to the regiments "Bourbonnais" and "Soissonnais."

4. A large portion of the mounted Legion of the Duc de Lauzun. A muster roll of this Legion is preserved in the archives at Harrisburg, Pa.

133.) "Der deutsche Pionier," Jahrgang XIII, Seite 317, 360 und 430. Cincinnati, 1881.

Numerous German officers occupied prominent positions in Marquis de Rochambeau's army. Count von Wittgenstein commanded the second division.¹³⁴⁾ Count Axel von Fersen, of Swedish-Pommeranian nobility, chief of staff, — Baron Ludwig von Closen-Haydenburg, born near Wissingen in Bavaria, Adjutant of Gen. de Rochambeau, — Count von Holzendorf, a Saxon, — Baron von Exbech, — Capt. Gau, chief of artillery, — Count von Stedingk, born at Greifswalde, — Paul Friedr. Jul. v. Gambs, Adjutant of Baron de Viosmenil, born at Johannesburg, Bohemia, — Capt. Nortmann of Lauzun's mounted Legion, — and Prof. Lutz, of Strassburg, interpreter at headquarters.¹³⁵⁾

Taking an impartial view—the character of the serviceable position of the French-German allied troops fighting under General Washington, must be commented exactly the same as that of the “cursed Hessians” on the opposing side.

Furthermore it is to be remembered that a large number of deserters of the English-German troops, from Hessen-Cassel, Brunswick, Hessen-Hanau, Waldeck, Ansbach-Bayreuth, and Anhalt-Zerbst, joined the American army, and that the American Commander-in-chief as well as Congress encouraged the desertion of Germans from the British ranks. In 1778, Congress passed a resolution to organize a corps of German deserters, and in Virginia the officers of the German prisoners of war were separated from their men, that the latter might be more readily persuaded to enter the American service. Recruiting officers¹³⁶⁾ came into the camps, going into the barracks, promised thirty Spanish dollars hard money, of which eight dollars were paid down, and, even carried with them musicians, loose women and liquor to help them to induce the men to leave their colors. These facts show that the soldierly qualification of the German prisoners and their brave and good conduct, were fully known to the American authorities.

The Anglo-Virginians, at least those of better judgment, soon valued these men and also recognized their qualification

134.) “The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States,” by J. G. Rosengarten, p. 115. Philadelphia, 1890.

135.) “Der deutsche Pionier,” Jahrgang XIII, Seite 319 und 320. Cincinnati, 1881.

136.) “The German Allied Troops,” by Max von Eelking, and translated by J. G. Rosengarten, p. 212. Albany, N. Y., 1893.

to become desirable colonists. General Washington owned large estates in western Virginia, and he wished, as stated previously, to settle his lands by Germans. After the close of the war a large number of German prisoners of war helped him to realize this plan. They drove the murderous Indians wholly from the Virginian soil, and opened the wilderness of the Alleghanies to the Ohio, and farther. The author met during the war of secession many farmers in Greenbrier, Fayette, Nicholas, and Pocahontas counties, whose fathers or grandfathers had been captured at Trenton or Saratoga, and one of his fellow-officers in Company D, Fourteenth Virginia Cavalry, organized at Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs, was a descendant of a Hessian.

The "Winchester Times" said about the German prisoners confined in and near Winchester,¹³⁷⁾ "they were skilled workers in leather, stone and iron-work, and the stone fences and comfortable stone-houses were built by them. They also acquainted the pioneer-settlers with the progress made in agriculture, etc."

Some of the private soldiers were at once allowed to go to work on the neighboring farms. Many of the owners were of German descent, and German speech and friendly hospitality gave their unfortunate countrymen great comfort. Several of them fell in love with the daughters of the old farmers, and married. These were allowed to ransom themselves for a fixed sum of eighty Spanish dollars¹³⁸⁾ and those who could not raise the amount and had no friends or relatives in the country to help them, usually found Americans to advance the money and agreed to labor for it a certain length of time. These were called "Redemptioners," and their bargains had a sort of legal sanction, they were made public at church and generally acknowledged as binding.

When the war was over Congress offered the German soldiers every advantage in case they remained in America, and the German princes, desirous to reduce their standing armies, gladly gave their men and officers leave to stay.

137.) "The Winchester Times," copied 1890 from "Daily Commercial," Memphis, Tenn., the report of an old Navy Officer born at Winchester, Va.

138.) "The German Alleid Troops," by Max von Eelking, translated by J. G. Rosengarten, p. 217. Albany, N. Y., 1893.

In many respects the long and weary imprisonment was a time of suffering and hardship to the captives. At Winchester the quarters gave no hope, as von Eelking reports, of a comfortable winter, — wretched huts of wood and canvass, roofless, without doors and windows, and located in a heavy forest growth, were assigned to them. The men were crowded close together twenty to thirty in a hut, and even the food was scanty and poor. The men confined near Staunton had similar hardships to endure, and the presence of a large number of captive British soldiers added to their discomfort. Staunton was at that time a small town of only thirty ordinary houses, and the prisoners had little intercourse with the inhabitants, as the barracks were some miles distant. These barracks were in an unfinished state when the Hessian and Brunswick troops arrived, and afforded no protection from cold and heat. The German captives repaired them, laid out gardens and chicken-yards, and the Virginians came to look at their arrangements and to make purchases. Good fighting-cocks were in special demand and ten to thirteen shillings were paid for them. Thus circumstances were improved, but the men complained of the big prices of all staples, that they could exchange their money only with a heavy loss of about 40 per cent. and that they heard and saw nothing of the world.

Baroness von Riedesel, who had accompanied her husband, General Friedrich Adolph von Riedesel, and about eighteen hundred men taken at Saratoga to Charlottesville, wrote to a friend in Germany: "The prisoners had at first to bear many trials. They lived in little log-houses without doors and windows, but they soon built better dwellings surrounded by gardens, and by their labor the place gained the appearance of a pretty little town." — Further reports von Eelking¹³⁹): "They surrounded themselves with such comfort as could be provided, and occupied the time by building a church to which was annexed a graveyard, fitted up a theatre, had constant visitors from far and near, and brought new life into a desolate little country village." — General von Riedesel lived at Charlottesville like a native farmer. He built a block-house with furni-

139.) "The German Allied Troops," by Max von Eelking, translated by J. G. Rosen-garten, pp. 149 and 152. Albany, N. Y., 1893.

ture made on the spot, worked in his garden, had horses and cows, and his wife made a capital housekeeper. Anburey, one of the British officers quartered here with the Saratoga troops, writes¹⁴⁰): "This famous place we had heard so much of, consisted only of a courthouse, one tavern and about a dozen houses, all of which were crowded with officers. The soldiers camped in a wood near the town." — The road leading out of Charlottesville to the northwest, is to this day called "the Old Barrack's Road."

It is significant that Governor Thomas Jefferson took pleasure in associating with the German officers at Charlottesville and inviting them to his country-seat, Monticello. They were well educated men, and the Governor offered them the use of his library. In the evening he frequently indulged in music with those of musical efficiency. "His disposition to the arts of peace," says E. A. Duyckinck¹⁴¹), "in mitigation of the calamities of war, had been shown in his treatment of the Saratoga prisoners of war, who were quartered in the neighborhood, near Charlottesville. He added to the comforts of the men and entertained the officers at his table."

On the 8th of December, 1777, Congress granted the Hessian officers at Winchester their request to go to Fredericksburg, Va. They had gained the confidence of the Americans, so that each was allowed to choose his own time to move there. On the 13th they were all in Fredericksburg, and as there could not be found quarters for the whole number, some went to Falmouth, an attractive village on the other side of the Rappahannock river. They admired the stream and its shores, and their relations to the most distinguished families in the neighborhood were very pleasant. Lieutenant Wiederhold wrote in his diary¹⁴²): "The ladies of the neighborhood showed us much kindness, they are lovely, polite, modest and of natural grace. Sixteen of them, and the most prominent ones, arranged a 'surprise party,' and 'surprised' the captain in his quarters

140.) "Albemarle," by W. H. Seamon, pp. 9 to 10. Charlottesville, Va., 1888.

141.) "Thomas Jefferson," Portrait Gallery of Eminent Men and Women, by E. A. Duyckinck, Vol. I, p. 280. New York, N. Y.

142.) "Lord Fairfax," by A. Simon, published in "Der Westen," Chicago, Ills, June 19th, 1892.

after he had been notified of it. The beautiful Virginia ladies had intended to stay only an hour, but they extended their visit from four o'clock in the afternoon to ten o'clock at night. Among the agreeable visitors were a sister and a niece of General Washington, and also one of his brothers. The German officers entertained their welcome guests with musical exercises, which the ladies sometimes accompanied by singing. Tea, chocolate, coffee, claret and cake were at hand." Wiederhold writes in addition: "In Europe we would not have earned much praise by our musical performance, but here we were admired like virtuosos. Sobbe played the flute, Surgeon Oliva the violin, and I the guitar. I think the Virginia gentlemen were a little jealous, that we were treated with so much amiability."

Finally the German prisoners were released, "and then," says Rosengarten, "they began to laugh at their recent experiences, to talk about the theatre, which had helped to shorten the weary hours of their exile and imprisonment." The scattered troops, including those in Virginia, were collected and gradually returned to Germany.

An abundance of books on the American war and the country were written by German soldiers of all grades and illustrated the resources and advantages America offers to settlers. Dr. Johann David Schoepf, surgeon of the Anspach-Baireuth troops, published, as mentioned before, a very instructive work about his travels in the South, especially Virginia.¹⁴³) These publications attracted widespread attention throughout Germany and thus the very men, who had been sent across the ocean to help conquer the rebellious colonies, assisted to increase immigration and to advance the development of the new republic. An era of prosperity followed. Virginia, possessing the finest climate of the North American continent, with thousands of acres of broad, fertile, unoccupied lands awaiting the tiller's toil, thousands of acres of timber awaiting the woodman's axe, and thousands of veins of most valuable ores and coal only awaiting enterprise and capital, received its share of German industrious citizens. The large number of German prisoners, who stayed there after

143.) "Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen Staaten in 1783 und 1784," — im Auszug wieder veröffentlicht in "Der Süden," Jahrgang I. Richmond, Va., 1891.


the close of hostilities, were soon joined by new comers from the old fatherland, giving the Old Dominion many families of note and of useful citizens. Hessia, the native State of the much abused "mercenaries," took in Virginia the lead of a growing tide of valuable German immigrants.

The large number of desirable citizens America received from the subsidiary troops is shown by the following figures:

The Brunswick contingent counted during the war 5,723 men and officers, and out of this number 1,200 men, 27 officers and chaplain Melsheimer remained in America. It is stated that of the troops of Hessen-Cassel, Hessen-Hanau, Waldeck, Anspach, Baireuth, and Anhalt-Zerbst, about 7,000 made Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey their permanent home. The official reports say that the total number of the German contingents was 29,166 men and that 11,853 were counted as lost.

CHAPTER X.

THE INDIAN HUNTERS AND THE GERMAN-VIRGINIAN EMIGRATION TO THE WEST.

HE barbarous warfare of the Indians had highly excited the peaceful German frontiersmen and made several of them merciless avengers. History calls these sworn enemies of the natives: "Indian Hunters." A rifle over the shoulder, a tomahawk and a scalping knife in the belt, they rambled through the woods, and no savage, who came near them, was spared. Wild and bloody was their revenge, not consistent with humanity and law, and yet the enraged and suffering people sympathized with them. Tradition has surrounded them with a mist of romance. The following names of German Virginians, who figured in the border history as the most successful Indian hunters, are: Ludwig Wetzel, Georg Ruffner, Col. Peter Nieswanger, Jacob Weiser, Karl Bilderbach, and Johann Waerth; and in the Cumberland mountains in Kentucky and Tennessee: Michael Steiner, the ancestor of the Stoners, and Kaspar Mausher, afterwards colonel of the militia-force at the border. The most famous of the Indian hunters in the West was Ludwig (Lewis) Wetzel, whose name is perpetuated in Wetzel county, West Virginia. The German-American poet, Friedrich Albert Schmitt, (he died at Cincinnati, O.,) has sung his fame in several songs. He represented him as taking the following oath¹⁴⁴):

144.) "Ludwig Wetzel, der Indianerjäger," von Friedrich Albert Schmitt. — "Deutscher Pionier," Band I, Seite 41. Cincinnati, 1876.

“Fuer den Erschlagenen Rache! Wir machen wieder gut,
Was uns gethan die Wilden: in ihrem eignen Blut!
Sei jede Rothhaut fuerder geweiht dem sich’ren Tod,
So wahr in gluehen Flammen dies Haus emporgeloht!

Am Grab des Vaters schworen wir Jenen Untergang!
Du Himmel, wollst es hoeren: es soll der Schlachtgesang
Den hier die Indianer geheult, um Rache schrein,—
Er soll ein grimmer Mahner zur ew’gen Rache sein!”

Ludwig Wetzel was the son of Johann Wetzel from the Palatinate, who was one of the first settlers on Big Wheeling Creek. When Ludwig was a boy of thirteen years, in 1787, the Indians burned down the log-house of his parents and killed his father, and Ludwig, with a gun-wound in his breast, was carried off prisoner together with his brother Jacob. The two boys succeeded in escaping and trained by their father in the use of arms, they devoted themselves to avenging his death. Ludwig especially inspired the red men with terror. “In all he took over thirty scalps of warriors,” says de Haas¹⁴⁵) “thus killing more Indians than were slain by either one of the two large armies of Braddock or St. Clair during their disastrous campaigns.” — After the conclusion of peace with the savages he still continued his murderous work of revenge, and was consequently pursued and imprisoned at Fort Washington, near Cincinnati, — but the people sided with him and he was released. He went to Louisiana, where he was again arrested, but by means of deceit and with the assistance of his friends he escaped. He feigned to have suddenly fallen sick, was represented as having died, placed in a coffin and carried to a vault, from where he effected his flight the next night. He finally died in Texas.

A similar life full of adventures and hair-breadth escapes was led by all the Indian hunters, and yet they were admired by the people exposed to the murderous treachery of the natives. They were feared by the red men, — their mere presence was a protection — and thus they frustrated many a massacre.

145.) “History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia,” by Wills de Haas, p. 344. Wheeling and Philadelphia, 1851.

The repeated incursions of hostile Indians not only aroused the bloody avengers, the Indian hunters,—they also induced many German Virginians to emigrate further west. The distrust and animosity of the slave-holders, and the spiteful persecution of all dissenters by the English High Church, made life in Virginia unbearable to many. The German poet, Emil Rittershaus, very truly says:

“Die Heimath ist, wo man Dich gern erscheinen
und ungern wandern sieht,” —

and Virginia had not offered such dear homes to those pioneers.

Enticing descriptions of the fertility of the soil in Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana helped to induce many desirable settlers to leave the Old Dominion. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century some German Virginians, either voluntarily or against their own free will, came to Kentucky. Collins¹⁴⁶) relates, that the first white women who came to Kentucky, were Mrs. Maria Engels, from Virginia, with her children and her sister-in-law, Mrs. Draper, who had been taken prisoners and carried off by the Shawanees. The same historian also reports, that Mrs. Engel and the other German woman managed to escape, after the children had been separated from them, — and that they reached the Kanawha river in Virginia, encountering many accidents and troubles. Mrs. Engel afterwards returned to Kentucky with her husband and settled in Boone county, — others followed, — but principally during the War of Independence the German immigration increased. Many of the revolutionary soldiers found homes there. — In 1773 a society headed by one Robert McAfee,—among its members were several Germans,—left Botetourt county, Va., and wandered to Kentucky (Kain-tuck-ee.) Only one German name of those pioneers is preserved: Herrmann. Other German Virginians, who settled in Kentucky at the same time, were: Abraham Hite, Joseph and Jacob Sadowsky, Captain A. Schoeplein (anglicized: Chapline), etc. It was a life of privation and danger which these emissaries of European civilization had to endure. They held the frontier outposts against Indian barbarity. The U. S. Educational Report for

146.) Compare: Collins “History of Kentucky.”

1895—96 says, Vol. I, page 317, with reference to them: "The settlers were not indifferent to the importance of schooling their own children, and went about the work in the rough-and-ready way only possible to their provincial life. Each of the fortified villages, which were the only places of safety from the depredations of the savages, set up its school. More than one of the brave pioneer schoolmasters met his death about his work; all taught amid an environment of difficulty and peril, that make the career of each a special romance. They took their meagre pay in tobacco and the produce of the country."

We previously mentioned the name of the speaker or preacher of a Tunker congregation, Johann Tanner, who left Virginia with his followers and emigrated to Pennsylvania. There he met with intolerance — and in 1785 he went and settled in Kentucky. The loss of his sons, Johannes and Eduard, who had been carried off by the Indians, caused him to move still further west and to make his home near New Madrid, in Missouri, which was a Spanish colony at the time. Several German families had accompanied him to Kentucky and settled at Farmers' Station, now Bullitsburg, as: the Dewees, the Matheus and Schmidt¹⁴⁷), whose German names are varied to Mathews and Smith. New additions came from the Old German colony at Madison, Va. Ludwig Rausch, about 1800, had ventured through the dark virgin woods as far as Florence county, Ky., where he found very fertile lands. He returned to Virginia and praised the "Charming West," saying that he would make it his home. He departed again, built a log-house, tilled the land, and in 1804 he went to Madison for his betrothed wife. His success caused much excitement in the old German colony and the next year fourteen men with their families started for Boone county, Kentucky, namely: Solomon Hoffman and his wife, Elizabeth, with two children; Georg Rause and wife; Ephraim Tanner and wife Susanna; Johannes Haus and wife Emilie; Fried. Zimmermann and his wife Rosa; Johannes Rause and his wife Nancy; Benjamin Ayler, Simon Tanner, Johannes Biemann, Michael

147.) "Deutscher Pionier," Band XII, Seite 68. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880.

Rausch, Jacob Rausch, Fried. Tanner, Josua Zimmermann and Jeremias Carpenter, i. e. Zimmermann. In the year 1806 they organized an ecclesiastical community and erected a church, which they called "the Hopeful," and in 1813 they induced the pastor: Wm. Carpenter, of the "Hebron Church" at Madison (as reported in Chapter IV) to remove there. Rev. Carpenter had studied theology and the classics under the tutorship of the Lutheran pastor Christian Streit, at Winchester, Va., after serving in the War of Independence in General Muehlenberg's division. More Germans arrived in northern Kentucky, and they founded the cities of: Frankfort, Lexington, Florence, Louisville, etc. The diocese of the Rev. Carpenter soon extended over all these settlements and into Ohio. Until 1824 he preached only in German,—the instruction in the schools was given in both English and German. His successor, Jacob Crigler (1834), who also came from Madison, Va., preached mostly in German and when urged to use the English language exclusively, because a number of English families had settled in Boone county, he resigned his office and accepted the pastorate of a German parish in Ohio. The English idiom soon made rapid progress among the Germans, and the American born reverends were the chief promoters of the change. The German descendants however preserved a faithful remembrance for the land and nation of their ancestors. Rev. Harbough wrote: "As a community we descend of the venerable parish on the Rapidan. We are therefore of German origin and we are proud of it. Our ancestors came from the land of Luther — and that gives us great satisfaction. We are not the ungrateful son who disowns and slights his mother."

It has already been said that the revolutionary soldiers furnished a large contingent of settlers to Kentucky and Ohio, this territory belonged at that time still to Virginia. The State of Virginia had presented the patriots with land and consequently there was about the year 1788 a heavy German influx to the "Virginia Military Lands" in Kentucky and Ohio. — "Woodford county in Kentucky," writes Collins, "was principally settled by emigrants from eastern and western Virginia." — Daniel Weissiger, who had lived at Norfolk and la-

ter at Staunton, is named as the founder of Frankfort, the Capital of the present State of Kentucky.¹⁴⁸⁾ Its name was given it by the German settlers, who came mostly from Frankfurt on the Main in 1786—87. — Major Bernhard Niederland, born of German parents in Powhatan county, Va., on February 27th, 1755, was the first land-owner at Lexington, Ky. — Major Georg Michael Bedinger, of Shepherdstown, Va., came to Kentucky in 1779, distinguished himself as a valiant officer in the battle on Blue Lick, August 19th, 1782, was elected delegate of Bourbon county to the first Legislature of the State in 1792, and a member of the United States Congress from 1803—7. — Georg Muter, of Madison, Va., was a member of the conventions in 1785, 1787 and 1788, elector of Woodford county in 1792, and was appointed First Chief-Justice of the new State.—Karl Springer, the father of the noble founder of the magnificent Music Hall at Cincinnati: Reuben R. Springer, came about the year 1788 from Botetourt county, Va., to Fayette county, Kentucky, and some time later removed to Frankfort. — The first physician of Frankfort was Dr. Louis Marschall from Virginia, father of Humphrey Marshall, — (he anglicized his German name), — noted in both the civil and military history of Kentucky. — Among the pioneer settlers of Bourbon and Pendleton counties numbered: Hans Waller, born at Germanna, Va., in 1749; Peter Demoss, who had served in Muehlenberg's regiment and founded Demossville; and Simon Luetzel, of Prince William county, Va. — Bracken county¹⁴⁹⁾ commemorates the name of the German surveyor, Matthias Bracken, who was sent to Kentucky in 1773 by Governor Dunmore and laid out the city of Frankfort. The German Virginian: Bernard Weier, Wyer or Weyer, who discovered the beautiful cave in the Shenandoah valley that bears his name: "Wyer's Cave," — settled in Highland county, Ohio.

These few historical facts show, that the German-Virginian immigration has done much for the development of Kentucky and Ohio. Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee and Missouri

148.) "Deutscher Pionier," Band XII, Seite 301. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1880.

149.) "Deutscher Pionier," Band XII, Seite 293—444. Cincinnati, Ohio.

also received a large portion of this desirable, industrious element¹⁵⁰) and many of the most prominent families in those States are descended from these German pioneers, and it can be asserted, that by their assistance the great natural resources of the Great West of the Union became known and partially developed. Richard Edwards, in his valuable History of the Great West, characterizes that German immigration as follows:

"Wherever they are found, the Germans are remarkable by the possession of those elements of character which always contribute to their worldly prosperity. They are not as fast in their ideas as Young America, but they have more solidity of character, and are more constant and untiring in their pursuits and are generally more sure of gaining the race in life and arriving at the goal of fortune. They resemble the tortoise in the fable—slow, constant and successful!"

According to a statistical report¹⁵¹) 99,267 white and colored people emigrated from Virginia, previous to 1860, to Kentucky and Missouri, — and 163,644 to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa.

150) Compare: Klauprecht's "Deutsche Chronik in der Geschichte des Ohio Thales," — Stirlin's "Der Staat Kentucky und die Stadt Louisville," — and Edward's "Great West and History of St. Louis."

151) "U. S. Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture," p. 44. Washington, D. C., 1863.

INDEX.

A

	Page
Adam, Rev., von Bremen.....	7
Antilia.....	10
Apianus, Petrus,—or Peter Bienewitz	12
Alfinger,—or Dalfinger.....	12
Assignment of land to each colonist.....	28
Anglican High Church.....	47, 110
Anabaptists.....	51
Appalachian Country.....	58
Augusta County.....	87
Alexandria.....	102, 103
Alliance between the English and the Six Nations.....	106
Armand's Legion.....	134
Arnold, General.....	138

B

Bjarn or Bjarni.....	7, 8
Behaim, Martin	10
Brazil.....	10, 11
Buckler, Maister Andrew	22
Berkeley, Sir William	30, 36, 40, 45, 46, 76
Buckner, John.....	30
Batte, Capt. Heinrich.....	42
Bacon, Nathaniel.....	45, 46, 76
Baltimore, Lord.....	47
Blue Ridge Division	58
Buckner Family.....	73
Byrd, Col. Wm.	80, 81
Berryville in Clarke County.....	102
Bouquet, Heinrich.....	109
Brake, John	142

C

Columbus, Christopher.....	8, 9, 10, 11, 15
Cano, Diego.....	10
Cabot, John and Sebastian.....	13, 15
Chesapeake Bay.....	19, 56
Cooke, John Esten.....	19
Carpenters, German—in 1607	21, 23, 26
Criminals imported.....	29
Cavaliers, Virginia.....	32
Cromwell.....	35
Charles II.....	35
Cultivation of Cotton, Silk, etc	35
Culture of European Grape-vines.....	37

	Page
Calvinists or Reformists.....	43, 91
Culpepper, Lord.....	46, 88
Clayborne.....	47
Causes of German Immigration.....	60
Carpenter, Nathan.....	95
Colonial Policy of Great Britain.....	110
Colonial Congress.....	115
Cherokees.....	123
Clarke, General George Rogers.....	126
Conway, Inspector-General.....	136, 137

D

Death, the black	8
Dudley, Ambrose—Earl of Warwick.....	13
Drake, Francis.....	14
Dutchmen	21, 24, 27
Delaware, Lord.....	27, 28
Dale, Sir Thomas.....	28
Dunkards, Tunker or Dunker.....	52, 91, 96, 141
Deckers, The.....	96
Darke, General W.....	102, 103, 133
Darkesville.....	102
Declaration of Rights.....	115
Dunmore War, The.....	120, 121
Dunmore, Governor Lord.....	119, 120, 123

E

Eric the Red	7
Erich, Bishop	8
Edward III.....	13
Elizabeth, Queen of England.....	13, 14
Eldorado	15
Education, Public.....	30, 75, 76
Effects of Slavery.....	30, 31
Ephrata, Sect, or Beisselians.....	53, 94
Ege, Samuel.....	80
Eden, Land of.....	82, 83
English Colonies.....	104, 108

F

Freydis.....	8
Finnbog.....	8
Federmann.....	12
First Settlers in Virginia.....	13
Frobisher, Martin.....	13, 14
First Dwelling Houses in Virginia.....	21
Feudal System.....	31
Fabian, Peter.....	42
Fry, Josue.....	42
French Invasion of Germany.....	60, 61
Fairfax, Lord.....	86, 88, 89
Flohr, Dr. Georg Daniel.....	92, 93
French and Indian War.....	104, 106, 107, 108, 110
Frankfurt in Hampshire County.....	102
French Colonies.....	104

III

	Page
Franklin, Benjamin.....	116
First Continental Congress.....	118
First Declaration of Independence.....	119
Fleming, Colonel William.....	121
Fort Henry besieged by Indians.....	124, 125
Fort Rice besieged by Indians.....	126
French-German Allied Troops.....	147, 148

G

Greenland.....	7, 8
Gilbert, Sir Humphrey.....	14
German Participation, 'The First Information of'.....	14
Grievances of German Colonists ..	23
Germans appreciated.....	29, 111
Germans and Slaveholders.....	30
Grants or Patents of Land.....	31, 32
German Victims of the Indian Massacre in 1622.....	33
Grape-Vines.....	37
German Names of Places.....	39, 102
Grafenried, Baron Christopher von.....	43, 66, 67, 69, 72
German Settlers in Henrico and Norfolk County.....	44, 45
German Sects.....	47, 91
German Swiss Immigration.....	62, 66, 67, 82
German Exodus to America via England.....	62, 63
Germanna.....	67, 69, 71, 72, 73
Germanna Ford.....	67
German Settlements on the Rappahannock and the Rapidan.....	68, 69, 74, 103, 158.
Germantown, Fauquier County.....	73
Germans and Slavery.....	76, 97
German Settlements in Piedmont and Middle Virginia.....	76, 77
German Churches.....	76, 90, 91
German Farmers and Farm-hands.....	97, 103, 142
German Customs and Mode of Life.....	98—101
Gerhan Mass-immigrations.....	103
Gist, Christopher.....	107
German Emigration to the West.....	108, 154, 156, 157, 158, 160
German Immigration to Virginia.....	110, 111
German Soldiers of the Colonial Army.....	112, 148
German Subsidiary Troops.....	112, 144—153
German Feeling towards Great Britain.....	114
General Congress proposed.....	117
German Committee of Safety at Woodstock, Va.....	117, 118
German-Virginian Officers in the Colonial Army.....	128
General Washington's German Body-guard.....	137
German Prisoners of War.....	148, 149—152

H

Helluland.....	7, 8
Herjulf.....	7
Halg.....	8
Hanseatic Union or Hanse.....	9, 13
Hurter, Jobst von.....	10
Herrera.....	11
Humboldt, Alexander von.....	11
Henry VII.....	13

IV

	Page
Hampton and Hampton Roads	19, 55, 65, 82
Hulsius, Levinus.....	20
Herrmann, Augustine.....	37
Hack, Georg	38
Herrmann's Geographical Survey	39
Huguenots.....	43, 62, 81
Howard, Lord.....	46
Herrnhuter.....	53
Hinkel or Henkel, Rev. Gerhard.....	70, 71, 92
Hopeful Evangelic Lutheran Church.....	76
Hebron Church in Madison County.....	77
Hite, Joist, (Justus Heid).....	85, 86, 87
Harper's Ferry.....	86, 101
Henkel Family.....	92
Henry, Patrick.....	114, 115, 119, 121

I

Italy.....	9, 13
Indians.....	19, 24—28
Iron Furnace, Chesterfield County	28
Iron Works in the Wilderness	72
Indian Devastations on German Settlements.....	104, 105, 109, 110, 120, 121, 123
Indian Hunters.....	154—156

J

James I.....	15, 34
James River.....	15, 19
Jamestown.....	15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 33
Joist Hite Grant.....	86
Jewish Immigration.....	95, 96
Jurisdiction of Virginia.....	123
Jefferson, Thomas, and German Officers.....	151

K

Kopernikus.....	11
Kempe, Richard.....	40
Kocherthal, Rev. Josua von	62
Kemper Family.....	70, 71
Kapp, Friedrich.....	75
Koiners, The.....	88
Kate Mountains.....	95
Kernstown.....	90, 101
King George III.....	114, 115, 118, 119

L

Leif.....	8
Leifsbudir.....	8
London Company.....	15, 18, 27, 34—37
Lists of Arrivals—1607 to 1620.....	22
Lenau, Nicolaus.....	25
Locker, Nicolaus.....	26
Lists of the Living and Dead in 1623.....	34, 35
Lederer, Johannes.....	40
Lederer's Scientific Report and Map.....	41

V

	Page
Lutherans and Lutheran Churches.....	48, 49, 90, 91, 92, 93
Louisa County.....	78, 79
Lynchburg.....	81
Lafayette.....	113, 138, 140
Logan, Chief of the Mingos.....	120
Lewis, General Andrew.....	120, 121, 122
Ladner, Friedrich.....	128

M

Markland.....	7, 8
Mediterranean Sea.....	9
Muñoz.....	11
Mageihaens.....	11
Minnewit, Peter.....	13
Mining in Virginia.....	28, 72
Massacre, Indian.....	32, 33
Maps of Virginia.....	42
Michel, Franz Ludwig.....	43, 66
Maryland, Organization of.....	47, 48
Mennonites.....	48, 49, 51, 91, 97, 141
Mystics.....	49
Moravians.....	49, 53
Middle Virginia.....	56, 96, 103
Muehlenberg, Rev. Heinrich Melchior.....	71
Matre, John van.....	84, 85
Muehlenberg, Rev. and General Peter.....	90, 92, 117, 118, 129—132, 138, 139
Morgantown in Monongahela County.....	96
Marshall County.....	96
Monroe County.....	102
Martinsburg in Berkeley County.....	102
Monument in Marshall County, W. Va.....	124
Morgan, General.....	126, 142, 144
Morgan's Dutch Mess.....	127

N

Norse or Northmen.....	7
Newport, Christopher.....	15, 18, 19, 21, 27
Negro-Slavery Introduced.....	29, 30, 31
Navigation Act.....	37, 38
Naturalization Law.....	43, 44
Norfolk and Norfolk Bay.....	45, 55, 81, 82
New River Plateau.....	58
New Berne.....	66
Northern Neck.....	67, 88
New Mecklenburg.....	91, 101
New Market.....	92
Negro Labor.....	97, 103

O

Olaf Tryggvason.....	8
Opechancanough.....	28, 32, 33
Opequon Settlements.....	86, 87
Ohio County.....	102
Ohio Company.....	104, 105, 107

VI

P

	Page
Perestrello.....	11
Purbach, Georg.....	11
Prince von Nassau-Siegen.....	13
Printz von Buchau, Johann.....	13
Penn, Wm.....	17, 49, 50
Pastorius, Franz.....	17, 50
Powhatan River.....	19
Point Comfort.....	19
Pasacus, Simon.....	20
Powhatan, Chief of Native Confederacy.....	20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 32
Pocahontas.....	25
Poles.....	21, 22, 27
Publications in Printing.....	30
Provocation of the Native Indians by the English.....	33
Population of the Colony.....	46
Pennsylvania, Organization of.....	47
Puritans.....	48
Pietists.....	48
Protest of Pennsylvania Germans against Slavery.....	51
Piedmont Division.....	57, 103
Pennsylvania Germans.....	58, 85, 87
Palatinate.....	60, 71
Petersburg in Dinwiddie County.....	80, 81
Portsmouth, Va.....	81, 82
Pocahontas County.....	95
Peter, Christian.....	102
Post, Christian Friedrich.....	107
Pontiac's Conspiracy against the Whites.....	108, 109, 110
Political Connection of the Colonies.....	113
Point Pleasant, Battle of.....	121

Q

Quakers.....	45, 49, 50, 97, 141
Queen Anne.....	61, 62, 63

R

Riccioli, Giovanni Baptista.....	11
Regiomontanus, Johannes.....	12
Ruckhammers, Jobst, or Ruchamers.....	12
Raleigh, Sir Walter.....	14, 15
Roanoke Island.....	14
Ralfe, John.....	25
Representative Government.....	29
Richebourg, Claude Philippe de.....	43
Roman Catholics.....	47
Religious Causes of German Immigration.....	76, 85
Richmond, Va.....	80
Roanoke River.....	82, 83
Rockingham County.....	87
Ruffner Family.....	87, 88
Robinson River, German Colony on.....	74
Reformists and the Reformed Church.....	81, 83, 89, 93
Royal American Regiment.....	109
Resignment of Home-Reminiscences and Language by Germans.....	113

VII

	Page
Restraints upon the Commerce and Industry.....	114
Regulators.....	116
Reed, Secretary and Adjutant of General Washington	136
Riedesel, General Fried. Adolph von.....	145, 150

S

Swein.....	7
Skraelingers.....	8
Schoener, Johannes.....	12
Speyer, Georg von.....	12
Smith, Capt. John.....	18, 20—27
Straubenmueller, Johann	25
Schiller, Friedrich von.....	25, 145
Starving Time.....	27
Staple Products.....	35
Schwenkfelder.....	48
Saur, Christian.....	54
Spotswood, Governor Alexander.....	66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 72, 73
Stoever, Rev. Kaspar	70, 74, 75, 76
School for White Children, First Authentical	75
Schools, Old Field.....	75
Stone House, Old.....	80, 81
Smithfield in Isle of Wight County	82
Settlement of the Valley and North-Western Mountains.....	84—90
Stephan, Peter.....	86, 101
Stephensburg.....	86, 101
Staufer, Jacob.....	87
Strasburg (formerly Staufferstadt)	87, 101
Shenandoah County.....	87
Schmuckers, The	88, 92
Streit, Rev. Christian.....	90, 92
Sebastian, Rev	90
Schools, German.....	75, 93
Salem in Roanoke County	91
Seybert, Frontier Fort	94
Shawnee Indians.....	94, 95
Shepherdstown (New Mecklenburg).....	91, 101
Stephan, General Adam.....	102, 107, 133, 134
Six Nations, The.....	105, 106
Steuben, General von	113, 137, 140, 141
Stamp Act, The.....	114, 115, 116
Second Continental Congress.....	119
Staatsbote, Der.....	127
Schott, Capt. Johann Paul.....	134—136
State Laws in German Print.....	143

T

Tyrker, Dietrich.....	7, 8
Torfin.....	8
Torfinbudir	8
Tobacco.....	28, 35, 38, 56
Talbot, Sir William.....	41
Tidewater Division	55
Topp's Letter.....	63, 64
Treatment of German Immigrants on Sea.....	64, 65
Tuscarora Indians.....	66, 72

	Page
Trans-Mountain Order	74
Tucker County	95
Tories	112, 142
Tanner, Johann	157

U

United Colonies of America, The	119, 120
---------------------------------------	----------

V

Vinland	7, 8
Vasco de Gama	9
Virginia	14, 17
Virginia a Royal Province	34
Valley District	57, 96
Valley Forge	131, 136, 137

W

Waldseemüller, Martin, or Waltzemüller	12
Welser, Banker at Augsburg	12
Wingfield, Edward Maria	18, 22, 23
Werowocomoco	20
Waldo, Capt. Richard	22, 23, 28
Wyatt, Governor	33
West Virginia	59
Waller, Benjamin	71
Wagener, Major Andrew	78
Winchester (formerly Frederickstown)	86, 89, 92, 101
Washington, George	89, 107, 111, 120, 136, 144
Woodstock (formerly Muellerstown)	90, 92, 101, 129, 131
Wythe County	92, 93
Wytheville	92, 93
White Sulphur Springs	95
Wheeling in Ohio County	101, 124
West Liberty in Ohio County	102
Weiser, Johann Konrad	105
Weiser, Konrad	105, 106
War of Independence	112
Whigs	112
Wieden, General Gerhard von der	132
Wetzel, Ludwig	154, 155

Y

York River	20
Yeardley, Sir George	29
Young Women Imported	29
Yorktown, Siege of	131, 138, 139, 145

Z

Zinzendorf, Count Nicolaus Ludwig von	53, 76
Zimmermann, Rev. Wm	77, 92, 95
Zane, Col. Ebenezer	102, 124, 125
Zane, Elizabeth	125

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